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# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 4, March 1984

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23 May 1984

## USSR REPORT

### TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 4, March 1984

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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SPEECH BY K. U. CHERNENKO AT 2 MARCH 1984 MEETING WITH ELECTORATE

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[Text] Dear Comrades:

Allow me to extend my sincere thanks to all the speakers here, to all working people of Moscow's Kuybyshev district who nominated me as their candidate for election to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (applause). I regard their confidence as support for our party's Leninist course, as approval of the activity of its Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo. I assure you that I will dedicate all my efforts to justify the high honor of being your deputy (lengthy applause).

Quite recently, we suffered a heavy loss--Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, an outstanding figure of the party and the state, passed away. He was a leader of the Leninist type. He could not tolerate routine and stereotype. He knew how to overcome inertia and attune people to concerted work for the sake of strengthening the motherland's might and peace on earth. It is under his leadership that the Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo launched major positive changes in the country's life.

The collectively developed guidelines on the key directions of society's development and everything that has been achieved of late constitute a weighty political capital. We will take care of it and multiply it.

Comrades: The election campaign is nearing its end. This year, it was characterized by great activity and businesslike course of voters' meetings. It became live evidence of the unshakeable unity of the party and the people (applause). The CPSU attaches immense importance to the elections to the Supreme Soviet. For this is, in fact, an account by the Soviet system to the working people. This is also a form of the masses' control over the performance of those whom they empowered to govern the socialist state.

It is in keeping with the party's traditions to conduct an open and honest conversation with the masses. Precisely this approach permeates the CPSU Central Committee's address setting forth the party's election platform.

When addressing voters, my colleagues in the Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat spoke in detail about our domestic and foreign policy and about plans for the future. Allow me as well to set forth some ideas on this matter.

You know well how much attention the party is giving to economic issues. They featured most prominently in the work and decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. They were subject of a realistic analysis at the Central Committee's plenums in November 1982 and in December last year. The importance of a number of cardinal problems of the country's economic development was stressed at the February Central Committee Plenum.

What can be said in this respect about the period following the previous elections to the Supreme Soviet?

On the whole, this was a fruitful period. The country's productive forces became stronger and substantially renovated. More than a thousand industrial enterprises, outfitted with modern machinery, were made operational. The reconstruction and modernization of the operating plants and factories were conducted on a large scale. But to put it bluntly, less was done in this sphere than we would like. The fuel and energy base of the national economy was developed. About 40,000 kilometers of trunk gas pipelines were built, an unprecedented scale and pace in world practice. We succeeded in converting a multitude of factories, cities and villages to the use of natural gas. The number of people using gas at home increased by 30 million.

These years saw substantial achievements in many other fields too. A unique nuclear reactor with a capacity of 1.5 million kilowatts, for example, was developed in our country. Powerful nuclear-powered icebreakers built in our country opened a new chapter in the exploration of the Arctic. Underground prospecting with the help of ultradeep wells was started. Technical lasers are now extensively used in industry and medicine.

Quite a lot was done to develop agriculture. Power availability per worker in this sphere increased by 30 percent. Chemical fertilizer deliveries to kolkhozes and sovkhozes increased by nearly a third. Combined with the development in the countryside of new forms of organization of labor and economic management, this yields tangible results.

Judge for yourselves. We were unlucky with the weather last year as well, but the grain crop exceeded 190 million tons. Livestock productivity also noticeably increased. All this confirms once again that well-organized and persistent work yield results even in difficult conditions. The concrete point at issue now is mobilizing people, readying all machinery and ensuring a smooth organization of fieldwork. There is no time to waste, for the spring sowing is not far off. It is also necessary to see to the successful completion of the wintering of cattle.

During the past 5 years, the complexities of international life compelled us to divert considerable resources to the needs related to the strengthening of the country's security. But we did not even think of curtailing social programs, since the ultimate goal of all our work is improving the life of the Soviet people (lengthy applause). Our approach to this task is broad. We want the people not only to be better off materially, but also healthy physically, developed spiritually and active in social life.

Four-fifths of the national income was directed over the past period to people's well-being. The real incomes of the population increased. The public consumption funds became richer as well. This is the source from which money is drawn for educating health care, pensions and upkeep of housing facilities.

Our Food Program, as well as the program of developing the production of consumer goods and services currently being drawn up, are also directed at raising the people's well-being. Much is being done now to expand the production of popular items of good quality. The modernization of light and food industry enterprises has been started. In this area, we are actively cooperating with CEMA countries.

Among the party's permanent priorities are such vital problems as construction of housing, preschool establishments and expansion of the network of hospitals and polyclinics. Last year, more than 2 million apartments were built, or more than in any of the past 5 years (lengthy applause). The housing construction target for the current five-year plan is very high. But there are grounds for believing that it will be fulfilled and even overfulfilled.

We realize, of course, that the housing problem is far from being resolved and we will look for ways to improve further housing conditions. What this implies is not only construction with state money. Obviously, the expansion of cooperative and individual construction should be encouraged more vigorously (applause). As to kindergartens and nurseries, we have succeeded in easing the tension here. Much, however, remains to be done.

We intend to raise in the coming years the salaries of teachers and other workers in public education. Attention will be paid in the future as well to war and labor veterans, large families and newlyweds and to raising the living standards of the Soviet people in general (lengthy applause).

Special mention should be made of the year 1983. As you know, the Central Committee plenum worked out in November 1982 a package of measures which imparted greater dynamism to our economy. We started overcoming the unfavorable trend of the first 2 years of the five-year-plan during which economic growth rates had slowed down. Of particular value is that labor productivity started growing faster and that quality indicators in many economic units improved.

Take your district, for example. The entire increment in industrial output has been obtained without increasing the workforce. You have actively joined the ongoing campaign for overfulfilling the plan assignment on labor productivity growth and reduction of production costs. Allow me to congratulate with personal labor accomplishments Mariya Dmitriyevna Poleshchuk, a weaver (applause), Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Gorbunov, a turner (applause), Nina Sergeyevna Izmailova, a glass-blower (applause), and Aleksandr Nikolayevich Serov, a fitter (applause), all frontranking workers of Kuybyshevskiy Rayon.

Viktor Vasil'yevich Grishin told me today that the Moscow working people fulfilled and even somewhat overfulfilled their 2-month work plan. This is a

major feat (applause). Allow me from this rostrum to offer all Muscovites our best wishes and thank them warmly for this great work! (lengthy applause)

Of course, comrades, what has been accomplished is only a beginning of great work. There are still many urgent things to be done. We can and we want to move forward faster. We can and should be much more vigorous in solving the problems of intensifying economic development. For it is only on this basis that it is possible to meet ever fuller the material and spiritual needs of the people.

In brief, speaking about plans for the future, one could never forget one simple truth: In order to live better, it is necessary to work better. In order to advance successfully in implementing our social programs, it is necessary to ensure a stable, dynamic growth of the economy and, above all, its efficiency. This was the topic both at the December and the February Central Committee plenums.

We have succeeded so far in improving economic indicators chiefly through reserves lying, so to say, at hand, on the surface. We started enhancing order, organization and discipline. And this immediately produced a noticeable economic effect.

It is necessary to advance further--towards profound qualitative changes in the national economy.

Our economy still has many sectors where lagging just leaps to the eye. The available production potential is far from being fully used. The experimental base of machine building is impermissibly weak. The share of heavy manual and unskilled work in industrial production and construction is being reduced slowly.

It is a must that we ensure a swift and continuous modernization of all sectors of the national economy on the basis of the latest achievements in science and technology. This is one of our basic tasks. Without this, societal progress is simply unthinkable.

The party also lays keen emphasis upon the issue of starting large-scale improvement of economic management and restructuring of the economic mechanism. The main guidelines for this work have been defined. They fully accord with the Leninist principle of democratic centralism.

Unquestionably, we should strengthen centralized management and planning and ensure that they are made more effective and flexible. Things should be arranged in such a way that national-level economic bodies direct all their resources at resolving the problems of truly key importance for the country. Some of their present duties can well be handed over to subordinate organizations, sectorial or local.

We have and will curb any actions dictated by narrow departmental or parochial considerations. But, comrades, no denying it, there are still instances when local initiative is fettered under the pretext of curbing parochialism. That

won't do at all. Encouraging economic initiative and creative work at the levels of economic regions, associations and factories is one of the most important and precisely nationwide task.

This is, I would say, also the question of further consolidating friendship among the peoples of our country, one of the basic principles of the party's Leninist policy. It is necessary to ensure a growth of the possibilities of each republic to make an effective contribution to developing the Soviet Union's economy as a single national economic complex. Of course, the interests of the whole people should be placed highest. This directly follows from the internationalist nature of our society, from our world outlook (applause).

Forms of management, comrades, should correspond to present-day demands. This will be, undoubtedly, facilitated by the current economic experiments. Their essence is that more rights be given to enterprises and their responsibility enhanced, while excessive supervision from the center be removed. Experimental testing will make it possible to turn from the stage of search to confident advance. But, of course, comrades, the search for and introduction of the new should not be limited to enterprises involved in one experiment or another.

It is, for example, obvious for all that we must provide an opportunity for universal introduction of cost-accounting principles. Everything that is standing in its way should be removed.

One of our chief concerns is that the socialist principle of distribution according to one's work be put into life always and everywhere. Those who work with complete devotion should by all means be paid better (applause). Some may say: But we can, even today, punish slackers financially and award bonuses to conscientious workers. This is so. But, it seems the penalties still lack strictness, while material incentive lacks proper fairness and, sometimes, I would say, generosity. This question should be thoroughly dealt with, and without delay either (applause).

It is necessary to overcome resolutely all conservatism and sluggishness. In brief, the slogan of the day in the economic sphere should be: From the correct idea, primed with experience--to bold action (applause).

2

As you see, comrades, a great deal of work is being done in our country to raise the efficiency of the national economy. This, naturally, is not easy work. And then, at the height of this work, in June last year, the Central Committee gathered for a plenary meeting to examine questions of ideological and mass-political work of the party. Why? What connection is there with our economic tasks? The relationship is direct, inseparable.

The matter is that today, as never before, successes of party guidance of society depend on the consistent observance of the Leninist principle of the unity of ideological, organization and economic work. Building socialism and



perfecting it means not only construction of modern factories and power plants or making our land, our villages and cities more beautiful. This is a necessary, but far from sole concern of communists. While transforming the living conditions of people, it is also necessary to do everything possible for their ideological and moral uplifting. Obviously, the tasks of perfecting developed socialism cannot be resolved without a great deal of work to spiritually develop people and their socialist education.

It is precisely the essence of the June Plenum's decisions that all creative forces, contained in the consciousness and ideological conviction of the masses, be put into motion. This is the basis of their labor and social activity.

I have mentioned the need for a drastic restructuring of the economic management system. It is apparent, however, that improvement of this system is in no way limited to eliminating shortcomings in the work of the, so to say, managers by profession. Another thing is no less important: Conditions should be made for enhancing the initiative and creative spirit of the broadest sections of the working masses in their entire fruitfulness and strength.

I have been told that industrial robots have started performing some production operations at several enterprises of your district. There will be more of them with time, of course. But even then, I assure you, the importance of what we call the human factor of economic progress will not be lessened. By this we mean the importance of knowledge, the interests and mood of people (applause). For, in the final account work is done by man and renowned through man. This old truth will never be made obsolete by scientific and technological progress (applause).

In production, the Soviet man should always be the full-fledged and responsible master. This aim is served by the Law on Work Collectives which was adopted last year. It is aimed at further developing precisely the managerial initiative of the working people.

The educational force of moral incentives is tremendous in the life of every labor collective. In our country work is the basis for the social recognition of man, his social prestige. The people are justly indignant at shirkers, job-switchers and drunkards, who try to use the lofty name of the working man as a cover for their own laziness and slipshod ways and who even demand public respect for themselves. One of the main objectives of educational work is to mold and strengthen in society an atmosphere of respectful attitude to work and, at the same time, of intolerance and contempt for all kinds of idleness, sloppiness and irresponsible attitudes (lengthy applause).

I would also like to make special mention of the following. The party and the state, as you know, have stepped up the struggle against such disgraceful phenomena as squandering of state funds, eyewash and abuse of office, embezzlement and bribes. This is not a temporary campaign. This is a line which will be pursued permanently and undeviatingly. There is neither nor will there be any indulgence to anybody in this report. Nobody should have any illusions about that (applause). Therefore, it takes even higher responsibility and exigency on the part of managers, permanent attention to those issued by party organizations and work collectives and all Soviet people and effective functioning of people's control, law, order and justice organs.

Comrades, there is, perhaps, no corner in our vast country where the problems and perspectives of the Soviet school were not discussed. The question of its reform has left nobody indifferent. It concerns literally, as they say, both old and young. The nationwide discussion of the draft reform of the general education and vocational school is graphic example of how issues of general state significance are resolved by the Soviet system, an example of true democracy (applause). You are, certainly, familiar with the guidelines of that reform. I would like to dwell here only on one aspect-- labor education.

Labor will never be an amusement, a pastime. Even under communism it will remain, as Marx put it, "a devilishly serious matter" (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 46, part II, p 110). Working is difficult, and nothing can be done about that. Yet parents are at times tempted to spare their children difficulties. But it is only socially useful labor that makes human life meaningful! That is why children should be taught not what is easy, they will themselves cope with that, but what is difficult. One of the most important objectives of education is to instill in schoolchildren love for work, to include, in full measure, the impact of productive labor into the process of education (lengthy applause).

The point, as you understand, is by no means to belittle the significance of general cultural standards, of knowledge, or of introducing something like labor conscription. It goes without saying that the reform of the school has nothing to do with the ideas that are dished out by hostile radio voices. The point at issue is different; a man who has not been trained to work cannot be a conscious builder of the new world.

We take permanent care to train such young people who will not falter, not bend beneath the weight of historical responsibility for the country's destiny, for the destiny of socialism and peace, the kind of young people who would be able not only to assimilate the experience of the older generations, but also to enrich it with their own accomplishments (lengthy applause). This is a responsibility of the school and the family, but not only of them. This is a responsibility of the Komsomol, the trade unions and the labor collectives.

This is a major task of the party. In the final analysis, it is the question of reliably ensuring our socialist homeland's future. We are resolving this task. And doing it successfully! (lengthy applause).

3

Comrades, it was back on the eve of the birth of the world's first state of the workers and peasants that Lenin wrote: "Under socialism...the mass of the population will rise to taking an independent part, not only in voting and elections, but also in the everyday administration of the state" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 33, p 116). Today the key to fresh successes in the work of the bodies of our people's power, above all, of the soviets, lies in the ever-wider drawing in the affairs of the state of conscious, politically mature and creatively thinking citizens. This Soviet aktiv, which numbers tens of millions of people, should be really active. The



possibilities for that have considerably grown in recent years. The role of the soviets of all levels has grown in resolving diverse economic and socio-political tasks.

It is totally justified that the local soviets have begun to coordinate to a greater extent the activities of enterprises of different sectors in their territories. And it is a good thing that they are enhancing control over the production of consumer goods and the development of services and over environmental protection. Generally speaking, the soviets' control functions should be enhanced further. There is much room for work here.

It is invaluable for the further extension of the democratic basis of the Soviet state to keep people better informed of the real state of affairs and to enhance publicity in the work of party and government institutions. The mass media have a great role to play here. Their work has been somewhat intensified of late. However, we expect from them more in-depth and interesting materials about the life of the country and the world at large and a bolder approach to outstanding problems.

And, of course, it is always necessary to be sensitive to the proposals and critical remarks of the working people and to be intolerant of any form of suppression of criticism (applause).

We communists take pride in the fact that the party as the nucleus of the entire political system has a tremendous influence in the soviets. Moreover, this is ensured not by the numerical superiority of party members in the soviets: As everyone knows, we have more nonparty deputies. The party asserts its political influence in society by tireless efforts for the good and happiness of the working people and by the ability to draft and implement a policy meeting the needs of one stage of our development or another (applause).

The party attaches much importance to analyzing the specific features of the present and to determining in a sober, entirely nonutopic way the level of the social and economic maturity of the new society we have achieved. By determining it, we formulate strictly scientific foundations of CPSU policy. A tremendous role is played here by the concept of developed socialism as a historically protected period, at the beginning of which our country is now. It is in the process of accomplishing the tasks of perfecting developed socialism that gradual advance towards communism is taking place.

It is difficult to overestimate the fundamental political importance of these conclusions drawn by the party. They make it possible to have a clearer picture of the development of our society in all its complex, controversial and multifaceted entirety. They help to remove in practice those discrepancies which have sometimes been allowed to occur between words and deeds, between the real possibilities of society and unsubstantiated forecasts. It is precisely with these points in view that the Central Committee is doing today the exceptionally important work of preparing a new edition of the CPSU program (applause).

The party is striving to ensure that Lenin's style in all its diversity and richness becomes a heartfelt need and an irreplaceable working tool of every

party, soviet and economic manager. Our managers have vast powers and rights but also bear vast responsibility. There can be nothing worse for a manager than arrogance and conceit, and "using the power ineptly," in Lenin's words, "as nothing but power, as though to say: I have the power, I have given my orders, and you must obey" (op. cit., vol 37, p 228). The strength of the manager lies in his ability to combine his authority as an official and personality (applause).

Party and government cadres win the affection and respect of the masses first and foremost in practical public activity, win them with their energy and knowledge, by their personal example and conduct that are free of anything which offends the moral feelings of the people (applause). The manager can be exacting toward others precisely because he is even more exacting towards himself. In this way he gains a moral right in addition to his official right to show firmness when it is better, as the saying goes, "to spare words when authority must be invoked." The basis of the manager's authority is popular approval and support. And those who lose them, who are deaf to the opinion of the masses cannot and must not hold positions of authority (applause).

There is another matter. We have quite a few effective types of mass initiative and participation in the affairs of society and the state. But there also are artificially invented forms, which should be dropped.

For instance, there is an undue liking in some rayons and oblasts for the establishment of all sorts of headquarters and commissions on any occasion. Sometimes there are so many of them that the organizers themselves cannot sort out who had to do what and who is responsible for what (excitement in the hall. Applause) Some officials chair well nigh a dozen different commissions simultaneously to the prejudice of their immediate official duties. All this only draws away people to attend superfluous meetings and scatters forces but in no way helps business. Sometimes certain officials, instead of taking responsibility for their job, only "take shelter behind commissions," as Lenin aptly remarked (op. cit., vol 45, p 115).

Our democracy is essentially a working, an acting democracy. Its extension and the perfection of Soviet statehood in its entirety constitute an important direction of the advance of our society. And the party is the power pack, the motive force of this process. By its entire internal life it sets an example of genuinely socialist democratism, of a harmonious combination of inalienable rights and irrevocable duties (lengthy applause).

4

Now let us turn to international affairs. One of the most important and insistent instructions of the Soviet voters was, is and will remain the instructions to safeguard peace like the apple of our eye and to ensure the security of our homeland. I can report to you that the party and the Soviet state have been following unswervingly this instruction, doing so in difficult circumstances.

You know that the past few years have seen a dramatic intensification of the policy of the most aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism, a policy of

blatant militarism, claims to world dominance, resistance to progress and violations of the rights and freedom of the peoples. The world has seen quite a few examples of the practical application of this policy. These include the invasion of Lebanon, the occupation of Grenada, the undeclared war against Nicaragua, threats to Syria and, finally, the turning of Western Europe into a launching site for U.S. nuclear missiles targeted at the USSR and its allies.

All this compels us to attach most serious attention to strengthening the country's defenses. The Soviet people want not an arms buildup but the reduction of armaments by both sides. But we must take care to ensure sufficient security for our country, and its friends and allies. This is precisely what is being done. And let everyone know that no lover of armed ventures will catch us unawares and no potential aggressor can hope to avoid devastating retaliation (tempestuous and lengthy applause).

At the same time it is precisely the complexity of the situation that compels us to double and triple our efforts in pursuing a policy of peace and international cooperation.

One can hardly recall a problem of importance to strengthening peace on which the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have not put forward during the past few years concrete and realistic proposals. The initiatives of our countries are winning ever broader support from other states. This has been most forcefully confirmed by the latest session of the UN General Assembly.

Imperialist politicians are trying in every way to limit the international influence of socialist countries. They are attempting to impair their cohesion and to erode the foundations of the socialist system wherever they think they can count on success. In these conditions it is particularly important to maintain and strengthen the cohesion of fraternal socialist countries. The leaders of the Warsaw Pact countries again unanimously expressed their conviction of this during their recent meeting in Moscow.

The United States is applying an economic blockade and voicing military threats against socialist Cuba. However, the hopes to scare it and to make it swerve from its chosen road are doomed to failure. This is guaranteed by the unflinching will of the heroic Cuban people rallied around their communist party. This is guaranteed by the solidarity with the island of freedom by independent countries in Latin America and by many participants in the nonaligned movement. The Cuban people are resolutely supported by the fraternal socialist countries. As for the USSR, it was, is and will remain on Cuba's side in fair weather and in storm (tempestuous applause).

The normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China could, of course, contribute to the growth of the role of socialism in international affairs. We are consistent proponents of this normalization. Political consultations show, however, that there remain differences on a number of questions of principle. In particular, we cannot make any agreements to the prejudice of the interests of third countries. Exchange of opinions continues, however, and we consider it useful. The Soviet Union stands for the level of contacts being raised to the extent acceptable to both sides.

It is also useful that mutually beneficial contacts in the economic, cultural, scientific and other fields are being gradually reestablished. This is not to the liking of those who want to benefit by the aggravation of relations between the USSR and China. But it is to the good of both our countries and the improvement of the overall world situation (applause).

The danger created by the imperialists' policy of the incessant escalation of tension has become obvious. The graver the threat it poses to human civilization, the stronger mankind's forces of self-preservation grow. Indignation is rising in Western Europe over the actions of those who are sacrificing its security to the imperial ambitions of Washington. Millions of participants in the antimissile movement are quite vocal in making this known.

Also, far from all leaders of Western countries and influential political parties approve of the adventurism of the U.S. administration. It worries a considerable segment of the U.S. public itself as well. They are realizing ever clearer there that the intensive militarization and the aggravation of the international situation have not brought nor are going to bring the United States military superiority and political achievements. They only lead everywhere in the world to the escalation of criticism of Washington's belligerent course. People want peace and tranquility rather than war hysteria. I can say that our conversations with the leaders of many foreign delegations who attended the funeral of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov confirmed that with sufficient forcefulness.

All this inspires the hope that developments will eventually be turned around towards peace, the limitation of the arms race and the development of international cooperation (lengthy applause).

Detente has struck deep roots. This is evidenced, in particular, by the convocation of the Stockholm conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe.

Of course, it is the bridling of the nuclear arms race that is of key importance to peace and the security of peoples. The Soviet Union's position on that issue is clear. We are against rivalry in building up nuclear arms arsenals. We were and remain proponents of the prohibition and elimination of all types of those weapons. Our proposals on this score were submitted long ago, both to the United Nations and the Geneva disarmament committee, but discussion on them is being blocked by the United States and its allies.

As for Europe, we still stand for it being free from nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical ones. We stand for both sides making the first major step in this direction without wasting time. In so doing, the Soviet Union has no intention of strengthening its security at the expense of others but wants equal security for all.

Regrettably, the United States has turned its participation in talks on this subject into a tool of propaganda to camouflage the arms race and cold war policy. We will not participate in this game (applause). The Americans created obstacles to the talks both on "European" and on strategic nuclear weapons by deploying their missiles in Europe. It is the removal of these

obstacles (which would also remove the need for our measures taken in response) that offers the way to working out a mutually acceptable accord.

The U.S. administration has lately begun to make peaceable-sounding statements, urging us to enter a "dialogue."

Attention was drawn worldwide to the fact that these statements are in sharp conflict with everything that the present United States administration has said and, which is the main thing, done and continues doing in its relations with the Soviet Union. Assurances of its good intentions can be taken seriously only if they are substantiated with real actions (applause). As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it has always been for a search for mutually acceptable practical solutions to concrete questions for the benefit of both countries and for the benefit of peace. There are quite a few questions. And the U.S. administration has many opportunities to prove its peaceableness by deeds.

Why should not the United States, for example, ratify the treaties with the USSR on the limitation of underground nuclear weapon tests and nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, which were signed almost 10 years ago, and not complete drawing up an agreement on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear tests? I will remind you that the talks on these issues were broken off by the United States. The United States can also make a substantial contribution to strengthening peace by concluding an agreement on the renunciation of the militarization of outer space. The USSR is known to have proposed it for a long time.

The peaceable reassurances by the U.S. administration would inspire far more trust had it accepted the proposal on a mutual freeze on American and Soviet nuclear weapons. So many weapons have already been accumulated that this step would not create even the slightest threat to the security of either side. But, at the same time, it would considerably improve the general political atmosphere and, it must be believed, would facilitate reaching agreement on a reduction of nuclear arsenals.

A very important task is to relieve mankind from the possible use of chemical weapons. Talks on that have been in progress already for a long time, but now it seems that prerequisites are beginning to ripen for resolving this question. The point at issue is the complete and general prohibition of the use of chemical weapons, their development and production and destruction of all of their stockpiles. We are in favor of an effective control for the implementation of such an agreement, which should apply to the whole process of destruction of chemical weapons from beginning to end.

It is not ruled out that reaching an agreement on the above-mentioned issues would signal the start of a real drastic change in Soviet-American relations and in the international situation as a whole. We would wish such a drastic change. Now it is up to Washington to act (applause).

The policy of the powers possessing nuclear weapons is of special significance in our times. The vital interests of all mankind and the responsibility of statesmen to the present and future generations require that relations

between these powers should be regulated by certain norms. Our idea of such norms is as follows:

--To regard the prevention of nuclear war as the main objective of one's foreign policy. To prevent situations fraught with nuclear conflict. In the event such a danger emerges, urgent consultations should be held to prevent a nuclear conflagration from breaking out.

--To renounce the propaganda of nuclear war in any of its variations--either global or limited.

--To undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

--Not to use nuclear weapons under any circumstances against non-nuclear countries, in whose territory there are no such weapons. To respect the status of a nuclear-free zone already created and encourage the creation of new nuclear-free zones in various areas of the world.

--To prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in any form: Not to hand over these weapons or control over them to anybody; not to deploy them on the territory of the countries, where there are no such weapons; not to spread the nuclear arms race to new spheres, including outer space.

--To press step by step, on the basis of the principle of equal security, for the reduction of nuclear arms, up to their complete liquidation in all their varieties (lengthy applause).

The Soviet Union has made these principles the foundation of its policy. We are ready to reach agreement at any time with the other nuclear powers on the joint recognition of norms of this kind and imparting them a mandatory character. I think that this would meet the fundamental interests not only of the participating countries, but also of the peoples of the whole world (applause).

Comrades, all we have, all we are proud of--the freedom and might of the homeland, its high prestige in the international arena, the full-blooded peaceful life of the people --we owe to the intensive creative work of the Soviet people (applause). It is this work that is an inexhaustible source of our confidence of the future.

The workers and kolkhoz members, scientists and engineers, physicians and workers in culture, teachers and servicemen are meeting the elections to the Supreme Soviet with new achievements in their work. May these achievements further multiply. Then our state--bulwark of lasting peace and security of peoples--will be even stronger. Then the life of every Soviet family will become even better. Then our country will advance even more successfully along the road of building communism! (Stormy and lengthy applause. All those present in the hall rise and make toasts in honor of the Leninist CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo and the Soviet people, creator and fighter for peace. The participants in the meeting chant "CPSU--Glory!" and "Hurray!").

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AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

PM271207 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 84 (signed to press 5 Mar 84)  
pp 14-17

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has examined the question "On Increasing the Role of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics in the Elaboration of Key Questions of the Economic Theory of Developed Socialism."

The resolution notes that the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics is doing definite work to fulfill the tasks put forward by the party in the sphere of economic theory. The ideological and theoretical standard of research has improved and the link between it and the practice of economic building and implementation of the party's economic policy has strengthened. The institute participated in the elaboration of the comprehensive program of scientific and technical progress and in the elaboration of proposals on perfecting the economic machinery.

However, the content and results of the scientific research work of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics still fall short of the demands made on economic science by the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

The institute has failed to become the country's actual leading center for economic science and it is failing to exert an active influence on the entire spectrum of economic science and on economic practice. The scientific research work that is being carried out fails to provide a sufficiently profound analysis of fundamental problems of improving the developed socialist society's economic system. The elaboration of methodological questions of socialism's political economy continues to lag and the gulf between it and practice has not yet been fully bridged. The standard of research into problems of production efficiency in conditions of predominantly intensive production development and ways of accelerating scientific and technical progress and improving the planned management of the national economic complex fall short of present-day demands. Criticism of anti-Marxist theories of socialism fails to take into due consideration the exacerbation of the ideological struggle in the international arena.

There is no effective cooperation between the institute and economic departments on questions of planning and applying the results of economic research into management practice.

Serious shortcomings exist in the style and methods of organizing scientific activity. Scientists' efforts are diverted from the study of fundamental problems to deal with a large number of petty topics. The role of scientific debate, including in the journal VOPROSY EKONOMIKI, is depreciated. The USSR Academy of Sciences Department of Economics has failed to take the requisite steps to improve the scientific methodological leadership of economic scientific establishments.

The institute's party organization is failing to exert proper influence on the improvement of the collective's creative activity. The party bureau pays little attention to critical analysis of the state of affairs; it does not closely scrutinize the content and organization of scientific work and it fails to combat feelings of smugness and complacency. Businesslike criticism and self-criticism are sometimes lacking at party general meetings and meetings of department party organizations and party groups.

The management and party organizations are not paying the necessary attention to work with cadres. The scientific staff includes individuals who are inadequately trained for serious theoretical summations, who are sterile in terms of creative work and who violate executive discipline. Omissions in work with young scientists have not been eliminated. The competition system and the certification of cadres are lacking in effectiveness and the evaluation of the quality of scientific personnel's work is insufficiently exacting.

The CPSU Central Committee decree stresses that the main task of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics is to elaborate the key questions of the economic theory of developed socialism on the basis of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums.

The institute is called upon to ensure a new and considerably higher level of ideological and theoretical work in economic science and to take a decisive turn to the real practical problems with which life confronts our society and which are of paramount significance for the CPSU's economic strategy and the party's course toward the further improvement of developed socialism and the fullest exploitation of its advantages.

The CPSU Central Committee has ordered the institute's leadership, by agreement with the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, to alter the direction of scientific work and the structure of the institute, envisaging:

Intensifying the elaboration of topical questions of socialism's political economy; studying qualitative changes in production forces and ways of improving socialist production relations in close association with the social processes occurring in society; deepening the analysis of socialist ownership, production relations, and the distribution, exchange, and consumption of the social product; revealing more fully the economic laws of socialism and ways of improving their utilization; substantiating the forms of combining national, collective and individual interest;

Elaborating in accordance with the tasks set by the December 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum the theoretical basis for the comprehensive improvement of the management and planning of the national economy--the organizational



structure of management, the interconnected development of sectors and the country's economic regions, and the closer linking of material-physical and cost ratios; strengthening cost-accounting relations; strengthening the role of economic levers and incentives in production development improving price setting and methods of evaluating the results of economic activity in the light of the summation of the results of the large-scale experiments on improving the management mechanism and introducing new forms and methods of management;

Overcoming the lag in the study of key problems of production efficiency, the intensive type of expanded reproduction, and the fundamental improvement of labor productivity, the improvement of output quality, the updating of production capital, the rational utilization of all types of resources--labor, fuel, energy, raw material and materials, and natural resources--and the creation of a system of criteria and indicators for evaluating production efficiency;

Expanding the study of theoretical problems of the scientific and technical revolution and combining its achievements with the advantages of socialism; the improvement of the material and technical base of socialism; the socio-economic factors in and incentives for scientific and technical progress; the accelerated introduction of fundamentally new equipment and technology into the national economy; and the development of the creative activeness of the broad masses of workers and kolkhoz members, scientists and technical engineering personnel in improving production.

The quality of theoretical studies must be improved and they must be carried through to the point where practical recommendations and proposals are obtained. The institute must take part in conducting economic experiments. The utilization of research results is to be deemed one of the institute's most important tasks. Scholastic theorizing and narrow pragmatism must be resolutely eradicated. Research is to be carried out bearing in mind the experience of economic building and the development of economic thinking in the socialist countries. The scientific invalidity and hostile thrust of bourgeois and revisionist distortions of real socialism must be exposed more thoroughly.

In order to improve the standard and effectiveness of the institute's scientific work the CPSU Central Committee deems it necessary to base planning and organization of research on orders from central economic ministries and departments.

The USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, in conjunction with the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, the USSR Gosplan, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and other interested departments must lay down a procedure for conducting economic research to order, envisaging the precise definition of the ultimate goals of research, ways of accepting and approving the completed work and a timetable for implementation.

The institute's leadership must take steps to improve the style and methods of scientific work, to establish proper order in the planning and organization of research, to eliminate unjustified duplication and triviality in

scientific work and to improve cooperation between sectors and departments and also with other scientific collectives.

The need was noted to establish conditions in the institute which will contribute to the presentation, creative discussion and solution of new problems advanced by life, to a substantial improvement in the theoretical value and practical significance of research and to the vigorous elimination of existing shortcomings and omissions. Great importance is attached to the systematic and purposeful conduct of scientific debate and to its yielding results which enrich science and make it possible to elaborate recommendations for practice, to the improvement of the part played in this by the scientific council, the journal VOPROSY EKONOMIKI and methodological seminars, and to energizing the work of the institute's scientists in the scientific councils of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Department and Presidium.

The USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium was instructed, in view of the present resolution, to clarify the purview of the USSR Academy of Sciences institutes working on problems of economic theory.

Effective measures must be elaborated and implemented to improve the planning and coordination of economic research in the country, improve the role of USSR Academy of Sciences institutes in this, determine the status, rights and obligations of the main institutes dealing with these problems and strengthen methodological leadership of the economic institutes of the union republic academies of sciences, the higher education system and sectors and departments. Measures must be taken to improve the effectiveness of international ties, primarily with scientists in the fraternal socialist countries.

The attention of the institute's party bureau was drawn to the need to increase the party organization's role in solving the main questions of the effectiveness of its activity, to scrutinize the content of research more closely, to ensure better monitoring of the actual fulfillment of scientific plans and tasks arising out of the decisions of the directive organs and to be very exacting toward communist leaders regarding the state of affairs in the areas in their charge and a self-critical assessment of their activity.

The resolution mentions the importance of gearing mass political work in the collective to the all-round development of the staff's creative initiative and of scientific criticism and to the creation of an atmosphere of mutual exigency, responsibility, and intolerance of violations of executive and labor discipline. Political education should be geared to giving staff a more profound grasp of the Marxist-Leninist theoretical legacy and increasing its influence on the quality and effectiveness of scientific research.

Greater attention should be paid to monitoring the execution of decisions, the party groups must become more active. Communists' suggestions and critical remarks must be carefully examined and their implementation must be promptly reported. Labor veterans must be enlisted to participate in the education of young people on a wider scale. The Komsomol organization should be given better help in its work with the next batch of young scientists. Trade union and other public organizations must play a bigger part in instilling the personnel a creative and conscientious attitude toward their duties.

The CPSU Central Committee demanded of the institute's leadership and party bureau to improve work on the selection, placement and education of cadres. Politically mature personnel capable of conducting scientific research must be selected for the institute; the composition of the staff must be brought into line with the main spheres of scientific research; a system must be established for improving the skills and ideological and theoretical standard of scientific personnel in order to train high-class economic theorists; young people with practical work experience must be recruited to the institute; and the training of postgraduate students must be improved. Measures must be taken to improve the quality of candidate and doctoral dissertations and to gear their subjects to urgent problems of national economic development and to the tasks of economic science; people who are unable to produce scientific results must be removed, formalism in holding competitions and in certification must be eliminated and people must not be allowed to concentrate exclusively on their own "dissertation" and group interests.

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## THINK AND WORK IN A NEW WAY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 84 (signed to press 5 Mar 84) pp 18-26

[Article by K. Rutenberg, CP of Latvia Talsinskiy Raykom first secretary]

[Text] Starting with the mid-1970s, we began seriously to consider in our rayon how to improve agricultural production management and to make it more effective, efficient and flexible.... We must point out that the lack of coordination among the partners in the agrarian economic sector had been felt sharply of late. This hindered objective planning and the material and technical support of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. It hindered the implementation of specific tasks related to the comprehensive reorganization of the countryside. The raykom was frequently forced to assume administrative functions which, once again, did not always yield the desired results for it created unnecessary parallelism and duplication. We realized through personal experience that the solution of economic problems by the party apparatus was fraught with undesirable consequences. It paralyzed the initiative of the people, introduced confusion and created in a certain segment of economic managers the aspiration to shift their own responsibility to others.

At the present stage in the socioeconomic development of Soviet society, the party teaches us, the role and significance of the art of national economic management increases; it is on the same level with the other factors which determine the successful solution of the problems of building communism. Improving the management system in accordance with the new requirements and the current level reached in the development of production forces and skill of management cadres offers favorable opportunities for the fuller utilization of socialist economic management conditions and, in the final account, for further increasing labor productivity.

The main purpose of the experiment which was started several years ago in Talsinskiy Rayon was to determine through collective efforts the most acceptable, optimal variant of the management system which could unify rural labor collectives and servicing industrial, transportation and trade enterprises and subordinate their work to the common objective of increasing the production of agricultural commodities and improving their quality. At the same time we resolved the problem of equalizing the conditions for stable profitable production activities of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and increasing the efficiency with which land, manpower and equipment were used.

Our searches were helped by our creative cooperation with the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics. In particular, specialists and

practical workers were interested in one of the models for an agroindustrial association developed by a group of young scientists headed by Dr of Economic Sciences A. A. Kalnyn'sh. After the choice was made the Department of Agrarian Problems of said institute undertook to provide a theoretical design based on our rayon, with the help of the CP of Latvia Central Committee. By that time preparatory work for the experiment had been completed in Talsi. Some farms were able to balance their production and bring it to optimal dimensions by merging small and splitting unmanageable farms. The main subdivisions were converted to an internal cost-accounting system with the support of the centralized dispatcher service.

We realized that this was no simple conversion to new quality as it may sometimes appear. Actually, it is difficult to break a stereotype of departmental interests which has lasted for decades. Many workers had to surmount a certain psychological barrier and abandon existing management relations and old habits.

The raykom took steps to renovate management cadres wherever this proved necessary. The party and economic aktiv, the local propaganda groups and the deputy commissions energized their mass agitation and ideological education activities during the "transitional" period. A number of essential controversial materials which reflected topical problems of agricultural production intensification and economic integration were published in PADOM'YU KAROGS, the rayon newspaper.

The practical science conference which was held was a significant event in rayon life. The specialists, farm managers, department representatives and scientists who spoke cited convincing arguments in favor of the initiated experiment; they also drew attention to the complex and controversial problems which all members of the agroindustrial association would be forced to face sooner or later. Naturally, we took into consideration the impossibility of insuring ourselves against failures. However, it was important to have a general idea of the main principles of the work of the new economic mechanism and to become attuned to fight the difficulties which would inevitably occur in the development of anything new and progressive.

Nine kolkhozes, five sovkhoses, the station for artificial insemination of livestock and the Stende selection-experimental station were included as full members of the RAPO, the rayon association, during the first stage. Briefly, the membership consisted of "strictly" agricultural enterprises. It was only 2 years later that the remaining enterprises and organizations directly or indirectly related to providing services to agricultural production collectives became RAPO members. At that, they were considered not legal but so-called functional members of the association, for some ministries and departments withheld their agreement for the participation of their enterprises in agrarian cooperatives. To this day the problem has not been fully resolved, although special documents were passed on amending the existing procedure for planning and utilizing the profits of enterprises and organizations providing rural services.

Obviously, extensive work remains to be done to uproot departmental "egotism" as well as parochial exclusivity. Here again a broad field of activity opens

for the rural party raykom. It is a question of intensifying educational work among managers of enterprises, organizations and establishments, developing within each labor collective an atmosphere of creativity, searching and efficient discipline and ensuring a firm interconnection among economic, social and organizational factors.

In the course of the reorganization of the management of the agroindustrial complex we were able to eliminate unnecessary duplicating units, to reduce the administrative staff and to reassign many specialists to work directly in the production area.

In the course of time the scope of the agroindustrial complex was broadened. It was joined by the production associations of Sel'khoztekhnika and Sel'khozhiymiya, the PMK [mobile mechanized column], the reclamation and interkolkhoz construction organizations and enterprises engaged in the processing of agricultural raw materials, such as the Stende mixed feed combine, the Yaunpagastsskiy alcohol and starch plant, the Sabile food and vegetables combine, the meat combine and the raw materials manufacturing plant.

In terms of interrepublic specialization, Talskinskiy Rayon is oriented toward the production of milk, meat, potatoes and vegetables. A rather high level of intensification has been achieved in animal husbandry. We average 52 head of cattle (including 19 cows) per 100 hectares of farmland and 120 hogs per 100 hectares of arable land. We also raise sheep, poultry and bees. The rayon has two fishing farms which are not part of the agroindustrial association with which they have been so far cooperating on a contractual basis. Thus, the Pirmays Mays Kolkhoz breeds pedigreed hogs while the Banga farm supplies fish waste to the animal husbandry shops of its neighbors.

RAPO is an essentially new form of farming based on the territorial-sectorial principle. For the first time we have been able to combine the production forces and basic financial and material resources of the rayon, regardless of department affiliation, for the fulfillment of the party's Food Program. The activities of the associations are based on combining democratic centralism with planned economic management and the social development of labor collectives. The RAPO council meets no less than once every quarter. Decisions are passed by open vote and simple majority. The representatives of the association are elected at general meetings for a 3-year term.

Virtually all farm managers are directly involved in managing the agroindustrial complex. They discuss such vitally important problems as priority in channeling capital investments and guaranteeing their high returns. How better to plan the location of production facilities based on natural, socio-economic and other conditions in order to obtain the necessary amount of high-grade products with the lowest possible outlays? The association's council has the right independently to resolve problems of redistribution of part of the profit and other assets among the farms and organizations in accordance with the tasks related to the social and economic development of the rayon as a whole and the individual labor collectives.



Initially the need to improve the economic mechanism was not profoundly realized by all of our personnel. Some of them were unable to find their way in the new situation working with an eye to the past. Taking this into consideration, the raykom made the necessary cadre changes in the main APK units. Those who not only proved themselves good organizers but also displayed initiative and worked keeping their sights on the future were promoted to leading positions.

Lenin's wise words addressed to the party members are more topical than ever today: "... In order to manage one must be competent. One must be fully and accurately familiar with all production conditions. One must be acquainted with production technology at its present level and have a certain degree of scientific training" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 40, p 215). In recent years we have been able to reinforce the apparatus of the rayon party committee with fresh forces: initiative-minded thinking agrarian specialists with practical experience.

As in the past, daily economic matters play a major role in the activities of the rural party raykom. However, we pay particular attention to educational aspects by increasing initiative and a dedicated attitude toward the work. It is important for the new management organ not to fall into the habitual tracks of bureaucratic administration of its partners. The question was formulated as follows: to pursue a line of firmly observing the interests of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, creating all the necessary conditions for normal activities by the rural working people and avoiding drawing their attention away from their main job: crop growing and animal husbandry. In the past the rayon sel'khoztekhnika was the target of a great deal of the blame and claims for neglecting the owners of the land and concentrating on its own accumulations. Naturally, not all problems have been resolved already. It can be said that the repair service in all farms has set up permanent posts and its engineers, mechanics and economists are supervising the operation of machines and equipment. These are not full-time controllers who note shortcomings but good assistants of agricultural mechanizers.

Ya. Felsh, a mechanic at the production sector of Drautziba Kolkhoz, quite accurately noted the new features in the work of the rayon sel'khoztekhnika. He said the following:

"That is what setting the proper tone for the work means. Not so long ago the rayon sel'khoztekhnika comrades and we did not understand one another. It is as though we spoke different languages. Now all it takes is a hint."

The center of party work has been shifted to the labor collectives where the outcome of quarterly, annual and five-year plans is determined. This eliminates the need for holding numerous conferences and meetings. We try to draw economic managers and the party aktiv away from their main obligation--to organize the people for joint and coordinated work--as little as possible.

Another characteristic feature of the workstyle of the party's committee is the reduced number of documents issued with which, until recently, the activities of kolkhozes, sovkhozes and related organizations were regulated. From

the very first day of the establishment of RAPO the party raykom has tried not to interfere in the work of this authoritative collegial management organ. Should the direct involvement of the rayon party committee be required in some matters it is ready to help in cadre selection and placement; the cooperation of the raykom can also be relied upon in matters of supporting any new initiative.

We must also take into consideration the fact that the new management organ has been given a great deal of authority which must be used skillfully. The main requirement of its personnel is not to sink into petty matters or turn into commanding bureaucrats which, incidentally, was observed during the first stage of the experiment. The attitude of some comrades had to be corrected. They had failed to make sufficiently flexible the structure of their relations with the other participants in intrarayon cooperation.

Now, following the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Economic Relations Between Agriculture and the Other National Economic Sectors," real prerequisites have been created for harmonious work among all partners in farming. They are becoming more interested in the end results of kolkhoz and sovkhoz activities. The personnel of the Sel'khoztekhnika and Sel'khozkhimiya associations and of procurement and many other organizations must show greater concern for increasing the economic efficiency of agricultural production as a whole.

Under these circumstances the role of the party's influence becomes substantially greater. Specifically, it is a question of ensuring real unity between organizational and ideological education activities and increasing the responsibility of leading cadres for the efficient and conscientious implementation of their functions, for which reason the primary party organizations were given greater rights, particularly in terms of controlling administrative activities. However, this does not mean in the least that we have totally eliminated formalism and ostentatious self-serving reports; not everywhere has an atmosphere of exigency and strictness been created. For example, the erroneous view that the leaders of labor collectives are essentially accountable to the superior organs, to the raykom or gorkom, remains quite strong. That is why some officials, if they submit accountability reports on production matters to their collectives at all, were not criticized themselves. This adversely affects the mood of the people and has a corrupting influence on the personality of the manager. We were forced to agree with the view of the party members who seriously criticized farm managers L. Peterson and I. Frelib who, considering themselves superior to the collective, had actually lost their ability to manage it. The only solution to this situation was to change the management. This action proved to be entirely justified.

Currently the RAPO farms, enterprises and organizations include 23 autonomous primary party organizations with some 1,200 CPSU members and candidate members. This accounts for nearly one-half of all party members in the rayon. Most of them are kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers. The structure of the rayon party organization has changed somewhat: seven party committees, 43 shop party organizations and 88 party groups have been created. The number



of party groups which rally party members working in animal husbandry has more than tripled and that of mechanizers has doubled. Party or party-Komsomol groups have been created in all dairy and hog-breeding complexes. The fact that in recent years many rural young people have joined the ranks of the rayon party organization has led to an increase in the number of party groups. Currently livestock farm workers account for 14.5 percent and mechanizers for 24.6 percent of the total number of party members.

By decision of the CP of Latvia Central Committee Buro a council of secretaries of party organizations was established in the republic (our rayon was one of the first to do so) in order to upgrade the role of the primary party organizations in the development of social, political and production activity in all units of the agroindustrial complex. It includes the heads of all primary party organizations in kolkhozes, sovkhoses and individual enterprises and organizations and agricultural managements. On a similar basis councils of secretaries of Komsomol organizations and of chairmen of people's control groups have been set up.

As a coordinating and advisory organ, the council of secretaries organizes and carries out its work on the basis of the principles of democracy and collective management. One of its main tasks is to contribute to improving the ways and means of work of the primary party organizations in the farms, establishments and enterprises within the agroindustrial association; always to be concerned with strengthening the party nucleus in the decisive agricultural production sectors; to contribute to the energizing of joint activities of primary party organizations in rallying the members of the association and mobilizing them for the sake of increasing agricultural production efficiency, ensuring the successful implementation of state plans and socialist obligations and fulfilling the comprehensive social development plans. The councils of secretaries must also promote cadre responsibility in all units and on all levels for the implementation of reciprocal contractual obligations within the association and to coordinate the selection and proper utilization and training of the cadres needed by the association.

Similar units are being currently set up in many other areas, for which reason we are frequently asked about who should head the council of party committee secretaries. No single view should exist in this case. This responsible role is frequently entrusted to the leader of one of the strongest kolkhoz or sovkhos primary party organizations. In some cases the position is held by the secretaries of primary party organizations within the RAPO administration. In our rayon, the raykom party bureau has assigned me to head the council of secretaries. This was mainly due, I believe, to my seniority as first raykom secretary within a single rayon, which has been quite long, exceeding 10 years.

If necessary, the council could hear at its session a report submitted by any one of its members on the course of implementation of a previously passed resolution. The party organizations in the various RAPO subunits are guided by the recommendations formulated by the councils of secretaries and ensure their systematic implementation. This enables them to organize efficient interrelationships among farms and enterprises and to coordinate fully and

comprehensively the interests of the individual collective with those of the association as a whole. Furthermore, this helps to increase the responsibility of farm managers and specialists and ensures the airing of issues and the efficiency of the rayon agroindustrial association.

The council of secretaries deals with a wide variety of problems. Some of them have included the experience of the work of the primary party organization of the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin in ensuring the implementation of specialization and concentration programs; the question of initiators and innovators and their followers; and the high duty of competition frontrunners. The council has discussed the experience of the work of primary party organizations in RAPO farms in controlling administrative activities, extensively applying the achievements of science and progressive experience, taking steps to increase the production of animal husbandry goods and to set up the necessary fodder reserves for cattle wintering and many others. Whatever the problem discussed, whether dealing with strictly economic or production matters, our rule has been to view the issue strictly through the lens of human relationships. A labor collective can achieve real successes in its work only as a result of daily and thoughtful work with people.

In speaking of the search for new methods of organizational party work under RAPO conditions, let us mention the holding of party meetings with a single agenda for all primary party organizations within the association (naturally, in accordance with the characteristics of the individual collective). Deliberations at such meetings help to direct the attention of the party members to particularly important problems and to focus their efforts on resolving common problems and organizing better control over the implementation of the plans.

Meetings of party members by profession have become popular as well. Their purpose is to analyze the state of affairs in one sector or another more thoroughly and to inform those who perform the work of their assignments. Thus, for example, meetings by party members--animal husbandrymen, mechanizers and construction workers--were held. They were attended and addressed by raykom secretaries, heads of the rayon executive committee and chief specialists of the agroindustrial association. In turn, the rank-and-file party members discuss how better to use production resources and upgrade labor productivity in specific areas within the sector and draw attention to what hinders more productive work. Meetings by profession makes it possible to take into consideration the views of a broad circle of party members on problems under discussion and critically to assess accomplishments.

As we know, agricultural departments were created within the rayon party committees in accordance with resolutions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Our raykom as well has such a department. It is headed by A. F. Freyberg, a trained zootechnician with experience in party and economic work. We consider collectively how to organize and guide the work of the agricultural department more efficiently, the position which it must hold among the other raykom subdivisions and what specifically should be done to avoid its duplicating the work of the organizational department which also deals with the rural primary party organizations.

The influence of the sectorial raykom department on the rayon's economic life has intensified substantially. It is in constant touch with all APK partners and relies on the help of the primary party organizations; it develops specific suggestions on resolving immediate and long-term problems facing rural labor collectives, which are submitted to the raykom bureau. Unity between politics and economics or, in other words, the adoption of a political approach in resolving economic problems is one of the decisive prerequisites for successful economic management. In order for everything that is new to become part of life not only materials and technical resources but corresponding public support and a moral-psychological atmosphere are needed.

The comrades from the agricultural department have done a great deal of work in helping the primary party organizations of kolkhozes and sovkhozes in applying the brigade organization of labor. They did not think of this project as one more campaign but studied profoundly and comprehensively the experience already acquired in the rayon. They drew the attention of party organization secretaries and farm managers and specialists to errors and faults. They organized training in order-free links and engaged in extensive explanatory work among mechanizers, in which they involved propagandists and scientific associates. Currently there are 67 cost-accounting subunits in the fields, livestock farms and construction sites in the rayon, in which labor productivity is 40-45 percent higher compared to links using the old work organization.

The experience of the Talsinskiy Rayon Agroindustrial Association leads to the conclusion that the new economic units has fully proved its usefulness. This was manifested in particular in economic indicators. As we know, the last 3 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan were distinguished by extremely adverse weather conditions. However, compared to the previous five-year plan, during the 10th Five-Year Plan grain, milk and meat production increased substantially. In 1983 the farm's associations averaged a gross agricultural output of 60,200 rubles, 170 quintals of meat and 729 quintals of milk per 100 hectares of farmland, which is significantly higher than the average republic level.

Practical experience convinced us that the new form of management of the agroindustrial complex as a single entity is promising and advantageous for all kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Suitable methods for coordinating socioeconomic development with educational activities within the association were found as a result of comprehensive planning. The further democratization of production management is yielding substantial results and joint responsibility for the results of the activities of the association as a whole is increasing. The people have begun to show more daring initiative and persistence; they are ensuring more energetically the use of internal reserves and the use of anything that is new and progressive in production. The responsibility of managers and specialists for the implementation of state plans has increased, not only in terms of their own farms but the association as a whole.

In recent years the rayon has welcomed a number of guests from different republics and oblasts in the country who came to study our experience. The fear was even expressed that this may distract our comrades from fulfilling

their direct obligations and resolving urgent problems, for meetings with guests took a great deal of time. However, we have always welcomed them warmly. Sometimes the questions they asked made us consider one problem or another more profoundly. Exchanges of views were good training for us as well, making us tighten up and protecting us from becoming stagnant. We acquired many like-thinking people in the country which gave us new strength.

We did not conceal from the guests that in our efforts to improve the management of the rayon's agroindustrial complex we had to deal with skeptics, with people who did not actively take up the new project and who simply remained indifferent. We considered them particularly dangerous. The opponents of the initiative brought forth arguments and specific objections for which reason we could discuss matters with them on a practical basis, in the course of which we were able to clarify and refine things. We could not argue with those who were indifferent. They were no help. We also heard the view that the creation of an association means simply a change of labels or, as the Latvian saying goes, "The same old crayfish in a new bag." However, if our approach to a project is to be such we would be better off to drop it.

The creation of a rayon agroindustrial association is not a change of labels but lengthy and painstaking work related to resolving numerous problems and, frequently, taking a qualitatively new approach to them. In the course of the implementation of the Food Program the working people of the agroindustrial complex must considerably increase their production of all types of agricultural commodities. By the end of this five-year plan, compared to 1980, the RAPO farms must increase their grain production by 72 percent; potatoes by a factor of 2.4; vegetables by 57 percent; milk by 14 percent; and cattle and poultry by 27 percent. These are high levels. In order to achieve them we must take an entire set of steps. To begin with, we must strengthen the material and technical base of the agroindustrial complex and increase farm and animal husbandry standards. Secondly, we must continue to improve the mechanism of economic relations within the association. This is a complex matter which will unquestionably require time and further experimentation.

"... Ensuring the well-organized and uninterrupted work of the entire economic mechanism," noted Yu. V. Andropov at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "is a requirement of the present and a programmatic task for the future." Its essence is to interest to the greatest extent all the members of the agroindustrial complex in achieving substantial end results, so that all farms, agricultural servicing organizations, produce processing enterprises and individual working people would have the firm knowledge that their material well-being depends to a decisive extent on the crops grown on our fields and the quantitative and qualitative results obtained at livestock farms.

The Food Program, which was adopted at the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, sets forth the organizational foundations of the contemporary agroindustrial complex. This the first time in which it is considered a separate planning target. That is why we must achieve through our joint efforts a situation in which the funding and material incentive of organizations and enterprises servicing agriculture would depend considerably more than they do

now on the results achieved by the kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Another urgent item on the agenda is setting a unified capital investment ceiling for the development of all areas of the agroindustrial complex managed by the RAPO council.

All RAPO members must contribute to the maintenance of the administrative apparatus, establishing centralized funds, applying uniform prices for goods subject to interfarm exchange and creating a single centralized source of capital investments. Actually, some enterprises have only recently become branches of production associations with administrative centers in different cities, such as Riga and Liyepaya. Therefore, having become branches, they have lost their financial cost-accounting autonomy and some of them have found themselves in the position of outcasts, for the main forces and funds and financial and material resources are concentrated in the head enterprises. Need we prove how greatly all of this hinders the organization of economic relations within the RAPO?

How can this situation be resolved? I believe that the processing enterprises, including the local alcohol-starch and vegetable plants should be made totally subordinate to the rayon agroindustrial association. Together, the kolkhozes and sovkhoses could procure a large percentage of the raw materials they need. However, even if the double jurisdiction of enterprises which process agricultural commodities is retained, their superior ministries and departments should, in our view, provide them with the type of conditions with which they could become truly equal RAPO members.

So far, the association has not been joined by the consumer society as a juridical member, although the chain of production of agricultural commodities in the agroindustrial complex ends precisely with its delivery to the consumer. A great deal also depends on supplying the rural working people with everything they need. Partial steps are being taken toward integration between trade and production within the rayon's agroindustrial complex. Using association funds, the consumer cooperative is building a shop for the production of delicatessen and a vegetable storing facility.

In order for the rayon agroindustrial complex to encompass more fully the association within its system, it should include in RAPO the Primorsk Reclamation Systems Administration, the Sortsemovoshch Interrayon Section, the branch of the Olayne Peat Plant and the road repair and construction administration.

Briefly, a great deal remains to be done to improve the work of the rayon agroindustrial complex.

The rayon party organization is guided in its work by the historical decisions of the 26th Party Congress and the Central Committee plenums. As they surmount difficulties and increase their experience, the rayon party members will continue to direct their creative efforts toward upgrading the agricultural production efficiency in the entire agroindustrial complex.

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## FOR CLASS VIGILANCE

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[Article by Y. Sokolov, first secretary of the Brest Obkom, Communist Party of Belorussia. Capitalized passages published in italics in source]

[Text] Defining the essence of the class education of citizens of the Soviet land, Lenin spoke at an All-Russian Conference of Political Educators on how important it is that all the habits, practices and ideas which the working class has acquired over the course of many decades in the struggle for political freedom should serve as an instrument for educating all the working people ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 41, p 401).

Complying with Lenin's behest, the party has consistently conducted work in forming the new man. Generation after generation has been educated in the spirit of communist ideology and becoming active builders of the new society under the leadership of the working class and its party.

Class consciousness is primarily a matter of all generations grasping the spiritual values amassed by the proletariat, acquiring the latter's world outlook, and elaborating a definite view of social phenomena. And an indispensable component of this consciousness is a constant and steadfast refusal to become reconciled to the class enemy and to his politics and ideology. Instilling this quality and exposing the policies of imperialism, the misanthropic theories of its apologists and the antihumane nature of the bourgeois system is a most important sector of party work.

At the contemporary stage, when the international situation has become exacerbated, and when the ideological enemy is striving to operate in an ever more refined and insidious way, eschewing no means and methods, the whole system of educating the people in the spirit of class irreconcilability requires constant perfecting.

## 1

The Brest Oblast party organization devotes daily attention to heightening class consciousness. In this respect, the specific features of our border oblast are taken into account, the oblast where one constantly encounters direct bearers of alien views and very often individuals directly involved in ideological diversions against the Soviet people. Every year hundreds of



thousands of people pass through our city, including citizens of capitalist states.

UNFORTUNATELY, SOME FOREIGN GUESTS TRY TO BRING ANTI-SOVIET LITERATURE AND PORNOGRAPHIC PUBLICATIONS ACROSS THE BORDER. MORE DANGEROUS "VISITORS" ARE ALSO CAUGHT, INDIVIDUALS WITH MISSIONS OF AN INTELLIGENCE NATURE, OR, TO PUT IT SIMPLY, SPIES. HAVING VISITED THE BREST ADMISSION CHECKPOINT WHERE A ROOM HAS BEEN FITTED OUT AS A MUSEUM, ONE CAN CONVINCE ONESELF OF THE REFINED METHODS TO WHICH OUR ENEMIES RESORT FOR CONVEYING IDEOLOGICAL POISON. SPECIAL TROUSER BELTS, CORSETS, UNDERSHIRTS WITH POCKETS, SUITCASES AND PURSES WITH DOUBLE BOTTOMS, SHOES WITH HOLLOW HEELS, VARIOUS HIDING PLACES IN CARS, AND EVEN IN COSMETIC KITS--ALL THIS, AS A RULE, IS INDUSTRIALLY MANUFACTURED. THE MATERIAL EVIDENCE OF ESPIONAGE COLLECTED HERE HAS BEEN REMOVED FROM CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES, THE FRG, FRANCE, THE NETHERLANDS, ITALY, PERU, AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

"...The aggressiveness of ultrareactionary forces headed by U.S. imperialism has sharply increased. Attempts are made to reverse development at any price. Of course, this policy will not bring the imperialists success, but by the nature of its adventurism is extremely dangerous for mankind," it was noted at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The exhibits collected at the Brest admission checkpoint graphically illustrate these words.

The situation compels us to approach the problems of antagonism between two ideologies, exposure of the essence, forms and methods of bourgeois propaganda and instilling of class irreconcilability toward a world outlook which is alien to us, with particular attention. The intensification of the ideological struggle demands that political carelessness and naivete be decisively overcome, and that every citizen acquire the ability to assess any phenomena of life from class positions.

The oblast party committees strive to show, investigate and apply in practice the means that most effectively influence the growth of people's class consciousness and self-consciousness. The system of work aimed at forming firm class positions, while considering the particular features of the various categories of the population, is being perfected at all levels of the oblast party organization. The obkom is striving so that class consciousness becomes the foundation for political conclusions and practical actions. We require everyone to be guided by the principle of a class approach when fulfilling economic and educational tasks, and we strive so that the class consciousness of the individual serves as an accurate guide in his socio-political and working activities.

In this connection, sociological research was carried out in a number of labor collectives by us together with associates of the philosophy department of the humanities faculties of the Belorussian V. I. Lenin State University, and during the course of this research approximately 6,000 workers, kolkhoz members, party, soviet and Komsomol workers, leaders of enterprises, kol-khozes and sovkhozes, agricultural specialists and representatives of various categories of the ideological aktiv were questioned.

It was not only scientists, but also party committee workers who were drawn into research work. The obkom assigned every party gorkom and raykom the task of carefully analyzing one of the aspects of the problem of class education, such as the role of the system of political education, for example, in developing class consciousness in the students. Or researching the expansion of relations with foreign countries and the tasks of morally tempering the population, ways of developing the latter's political vigilance, class education in the process of strengthening friendly relations with the working people of the other Soviet republics, the influence of mass political measures upon the process of forming a class approach, and the role of class positions in forming the readers' tastes and interests. We have also assigned the oblast council for tourism and excursions, the oblast museum of regional studies, and the oblispolkom's cinematography administration the task of studying individual aspects of the work conducted.

THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH WERE USED AT THE OBLAST SCIENTIFIC-PRACTICAL CONFERENCE ON THE "WAYS OF FORMING IN THE WORKING PEOPLE THE CLASS APPROACH TO THE PHENOMENA OF SOCIAL LIFE AT THE STAGE OF MATURE SOCIALISM." THE BREST OBKOM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELORUSSIA HELD THIS CONFERENCE IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE BELORUSSIAN UNIVERSITY.

APPROXIMATELY 100 PEOPLE SUBMITTED REPORTS AND OTHER TYPES OF INFORMATION. THE RECOMMENDATIONS ELABORATED BY THE CONFERENCE WERE APPROVED BY THE OBKOM BUREAU. THE BREST CITY PARTY COMMITTEE AND A NUMBER OF RAYON PARTY COMMITTEES SUBSEQUENTLY HELD PLENUMS AT WHICH THE TASKS OF PERFECTING CLASS EDUCATION BOTH IN THE LABOR COLLECTIVES AND IN RESIDENTIAL COMMUNITIES WERE DISCUSSED. THE RESULT OF THIS WORK WAS THE FORMATION OF 5-YEAR SPECIAL PURPOSES PROGRAMS. THUS, THE MALORITSKIY AND BEREZOVSKIY RAYKOMS ARE ELABORATING THE TOPIC "BRINGING THE HEROIC LEGACY OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE WITHIN THE REACH OF YOUTH. ORGANIZING PATRIOTIC AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION IN THE LABOR COLLECTIVES," THE GANTSEVICHSKIY RAYKOM THAT OF "PLANNING AND ORGANIZING WORK ON THE POLITICAL EXPOSURE OF IMPERIALISM," AND THE ZHABINKOVSKIY AND IVANOVSKIY RAYKOMS THAT OF "THE PRACTICE OF FORMING PUBLIC OPINION WITH THE AIMS OF STRUGGLING AGAINST NEGATIVE PHENOMENA."

THE PARAMOUNT TASK OF THE PARTY COMMITTEES IS THAT OF ARMING COMMUNISTS AND ALL THE WORKING PEOPLE WITH MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY, WHICH IS THE BASIS OF OUR CLASS CONVICTIONS. DURING THE COURSE OF POLITICAL STUDY, WHICH IS PRESENTED IN VARIOUS FORMS, THE WORKS OF THE CLASSICS OF MARXISM-LENINISM, THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF REAL SOCIALISM, AND VARIOUS ASPECTS OF CRITICIZING ANTICOMMUNISM AND BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY ARE STUDIED. IN SCHOOLS OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM, FOR EXAMPLE, 6,500 STUDENTS ARE STUDYING THE COURSES "DEVELOPED SOCIALISM: PROBLEMS OF THEORY AND PRACTICE" AND "PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF SOVIET SOCIETY." SCHOOLS OF SOCIOPOLITICAL STUDIES "THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AND YOUTH" HAVE BEEN FORMED WITHIN THE KOMSOMOL POLITICAL STUDIES SYSTEM.

SEMINARS ON THE TOPIC OF "THE THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF CLASS EDUCATION" HAVE BEEN ORGANIZED IN LABOR COLLECTIVES WHICH HAVE PERMANENT ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL TIES WITH FOREIGN ENTERPRISES, AND ALSO IN ORGANIZATIONS WHICH ENGAGE IN RECEIVING AND ATTENDING TO FOREIGN TOURISTS.



SPECIAL TOPICS--"WAYS OF FORMING A CLASS APPROACH TO THE PHENOMENA OF SOCIAL LIFE" AND "THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AT THE CONTEMPORARY STAGE"--HAVE BEEN ENVISAGED IN THE STUDY PLANS OF MANY SEMINARS, SCHOOLS AND CIRCLES. A DEPARTMENT DEALING WITH THE POLITICAL EXPOSURE OF IMPERIALISM HAS BEEN RUNNING FOR 3 YEARS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MARXISM-LENINISM. STUDENTS IN THIS DEPARTMENT ARE ASSIGNED THE TASK OF GIVING LECTURES IN LABOR COLLECTIVES.

SUPPORT SCHOOLS HAVE BEEN FORMED IN THE CITIES AND RAYONS, WHERE PROPAGANDISTS WORK ON THE FORMS AND METHODS OF INSTILLING A SENSE OF HIGH CIVIC SPIRIT AND VIGILANCE IN THE STUDENTS. ONE OF THESE SCHOOLS IS OPERATING SUCCESSFULLY AT THE KALININ KOLKHOZ IN THE GANTSEVICHSKIY RAYON. THE RAYON'S PROPAGANDISTS WERE INVITED HERE TO THE LESSONS ON THE TOPIC OF "THE USE OF RELIGION IN IDEOLOGICAL DIVERSIONS AGAINST THE USSR." THE LEADER OF THE SCHOOL MADE A PARTICULARLY SUCCESSFUL ANALYSIS OF RELIGIOUS PROGRAMS TRANSMITTED BY THE VATICAN, MONTE CARLO, VOICE OF THE ANDES, AND OTHER RADIO CENTERS.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Work in Selecting and Educating the Ideological Cadres in the Party Organization of Belorussia" states that these cadres are called upon to tirelessly master the Leninist skill of politically educating and convincing the masses to conduct agitation and propaganda work demonstratively and intelligibly to react operationally to events within the country and the world outside, and to consistently and in a well-reasoned way expose bourgeois and revisionist ideology.

The oblast party committees have drawn the proper conclusions from this. With every year, the number of activists of the ideological front increases and they tirelessly strive so that the political lessons, information sessions, talks and lectures conducted have a strictly defined direction, arm the students with the necessary sum of knowledge and methods for convincingly exposing the reactionary essence of bourgeois ideology, moral and culture, and serve as an important factor in broadening political horizons and developing social and work activeness.

THIS IS WHAT V. A. LIS, A WORKER IN THE ZHABINKA COMBINE OF EVERYDAY REPAIRS AND OTHER SERVICES, SAYS ABOUT HIS PROPAGANDIST EXPERIENCE: "I STRIVE TO INSURE THAT THE STUDENTS DO NOT SIMPLY MEMORIZE THE MATERIAL PRESENTED AT THE STUDY SESSIONS, BUT SO THAT THEY PROJECT THEORETICAL THESES TO REALITY, AND MAKE ACTIVE USE OF THEM WHEN ANALYZING CHANGES IN THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND WHEN EVALUATING THE POLITICAL STATEMENTS AND INTRIGUES OF IDEOLOGICAL DIVERSIONISTS, AND ALSO THE VARIOUS SITUATIONS WHICH EXIST IN THE LABOR COLLECTIVES. STUDENTS AT SPECIAL STUDY SESSIONS LEARN TO WORK WITH POLITICAL BOOKS AND TO DEVELOP A HIGH POLITICAL STANDARD, AND THEY ACQUIRE THE SKILLS FOR ACTIVELY OPPOSING ANY ATTACKS UPON OUR SACRED SOCIALIST ACHIEVEMENTS. THEY NOT ONLY NOTE DOWN CORRESPONDING RECOMMENDATIONS IN THEIR DIARIES, BUT ALSO OBSERVATIONS AND EXAMPLES TAKEN FROM LIFE WHICH CONFIRM THIS OR THAT POLITICAL PREMISE."

The party committees and primary party organizations have begun to pay more attention to increasing the effectiveness of propaganda lectures, political information sessions, agitation activities and individual work with the working people, students and pupils.

Special emphasis is laid upon giving methodological help to the various categories of ideological workers. In the cities, rayons and primary party organizations special seminars are held at which ways of better utilizing literary works, films, the work of clubs and libraries and excursions in the native land and abroad for the purposes of class education are concretely discussed.

More than 200 public lecture bureaus have been formed in the oblast for the topic of "Two Worlds--Two Ways of Life." A review-competition for the best primary organization of the Znaniye Society in exposing the ideology of imperialism has been held. The series of public lectures on "Imperialism As It Really Is" and "Our Soviet Way of Life," the film lecture "The Film Camera Accuses," and thematical evenings on "Behind the Showcase of the Free World" have become widespread.

Political information sessions for the working people are becoming more systematic and purposeful. United political days, in which all of the oblast's party, soviet and economic workers participate, are an active form of resolving problematical questions not only of an economic, but also of an ideological nature. It is not uncommon for these meetings to be specially devoted to the problems of exposing bourgeois ideology and morals.

Both within the labor collectives and in residential areas, the party committees have selected groups of political information workers for international affairs. Since last year, an oblast 2-year school has been in operation for them. In all counterpropaganda activities we proceed from the directives of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, to the effect that there are no grounds for the Soviet people to adopt a defensive position on any principled question.

2

The obkom, gorkoms and raykoms strive to increase the ideological impregnation and political sharpness of all propaganda and mass measures. The cases of diversionary acts by our enemies and ill-wishers, which the population of a border oblast continually encounters, demand enhanced vigilance and constant readiness to rebuff the provocateurs. Strengthening the ties among the working people's collectives, students, schoolchildren, soldiers of the Brest garrison and border guards actively assists in developing these qualities and skills. They are bound together by a long-standing and firm friendship. A deep mutual understanding and close cooperation exists between the party and soviet organs and the command of the border units. Joint meetings of the aktiv, vigilance raids, meeting between party, soviet, Komsomol and leading production workers and soldiers and the participation of border guards in political days have become a tradition. The commanders and political workers at the border guard posts teach the local inhabitants to identify a malicious enemy design and help them to develop the qualities necessary for detaining transgressors.

The border guards have won immense prestige among the communists and all of the oblast's inhabitants by their selfless devotion to the motherland and

their high nobleness and culture. Many of them have been elected as members of the party gorkoms and raykoms, and are deputies of the local soviets.

In its turn, the labor collectives' patronage of the border guards posts is actively developing. A great deal of work in physically and moral-psychologically training individuals for frontier service is conducted in schools, vocational-technical institutes, and other school institutions. "Be honest and brave like Dzerzhinskiy, and prove your loyalty to the fatherland in deed!"--this is the motto of the detachments of the young friends of the border guards.

The party organizations strive so that every worker both at home and abroad should bear the title of Soviet citizen with dignity, be able to recognize an enemy, and always be ready to explain and, when necessary, to defend the policy pursued by our party, to refute incorrect judgments, to set convincing arguments against hostile attacks, and to convey our Soviet point of view to his interlocutors.

Additional measures to intensify the class direction of the educational process have been adopted by the party organizations in connection with the aggravated situation in the PPR. Not one inhabitant in the oblast has remained indifferent to these events. Thousands of our people remember the contacts of many years between the working people of the Brest region and the inhabitants of the Lublin and Biala Podlaska Voivodships. These relations are multifaceted. The exchange of delegations of party and state organs, youth organizations and labor collectives has become a tradition. A magnificent Garden of Friendship which has become an embodiment of brotherhood and internationalism was built on our territory close to the border with the help of our Polish comrades in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. Roses brought from Poland are blooming in the Brest fortress alongside roses from Orel and Lutsk. A total of 8,000 bushes--such is the gift of the Polish people to the bright memory of those who defended the immortal citadel.

As the situation in the PPR changed, a new task arose--that of analyzing and explaining to people the objective and subjective causes of the situation that has developed there, and exposing the slanderous fabrications of Western radio centers aimed at Poland and our country.

Many inhabitants of Brest Oblast have blood relations among the citizens of the PPR. The fact that a considerable part of the oblast's inhabitants can watch Polish television programs cannot be ignored. Before martial law was introduced in that country, programs of an anticommunist nature were sometimes broadcast. These programs paralyzed the will of the Poles to struggle for the ideals of the working class and did not provide a class evaluation of the activities of the right-wing leaders of the Solidarity trade union and of their advisers from the Social Self-Defense Committee--Workers' Defense Committee. Historical facts were frequently distorted, and unfriendly attacks directed at our country were permitted.

The inhabitants of this oblast could not help but be troubled by the political carelessness and placidity which flowed from the mouths of some Polish

leaders. Under these conditions, the oblast party organization conducted constant and efficient work to explain the existing situation.

The workers of the Brest region are receiving with satisfaction the reports on the positive changes which are now beginning to appear in Poland. And as true internationalists and class brothers, they are ready to develop border relations in the future and to exchange experience in party work and in economic and ideological activities with open hearts.

3

Patriotic and international education plays an immense role in forming class consciousness and civic spirit. The memorial complex formed on the territory of the Brest Hero-Fortress has become a true center for this kind of education. Up to 1 million people come here every year to bow to the heroes' ashes and to pay due homage to their heroic deeds.

The feat of the defenders of the stronghold on the Bug River is an eternal behest to their descendants to be unbending fighters for the people's cause. The party and other social organizations, and the ideological institutions of the oblast treat the heroic legacy with care and strive to make it accessible to the young generations. Without fail, they remind everyone who comes here that soldiers of more than 30 nationalities fought here to the death. And we always strive to emphasize that their patriotism was of a class nature. This is also important to us because representatives of 90 nations and nationalities live and work in the oblast.

The varied documentary material presented in the museum's exhibition, the monumental sculptures, and the ruins of the fortress themselves produce an unforgettable impression on visitors, intensify their feeling of hatred of fascism and of imperialist aggression and compel them to remember again and again the great role played by the Soviet Union as the stronghold of the people's peace and security.

More than 14 million people from 122 countries have already visited the museum. The lively entry notes of its visitors are an invaluable source for the study of public opinion, and a striking testimony to people's striving for peace. There are entries in the visitors' book by Todor Zhivkov, Max Reimann, Raul Castro Ruz, Angela Davis, (Dean Reed), Komsomol members from Kiev and students from England. It is simply impossible to enumerate them all.

Here are the lines left by V. I. Sokolova, disabled veteran of the Great Patriotic War, and a former intelligence worker from Novokuznetsk: "My dear comrades, brothers, and sisters who fell fighting for the fortress! In your name I appeal to all the living: don't let us allow a war."

Young English people have written: "Our country was never subjected to the horrors of occupation during the war. Today's excursion has helped us to understand what sacrifices the Soviet people had to make in the name of love for their motherland. Let us struggle for peace and understanding between peoples so that the terrible past can never again be repeated. Peace to the

world!" Using the entries made in the visitors' book, which appeal passionately for peace and condemn war, ideological workers are able to reveal the class nature of wars, while emphasizing that war is the result of imperialism.

The revolutionary, combat and work heroics of the Soviet people, and new socialist traditions have always been and continue to be a means of educating people. Museums, corners and rooms of glory are being set up in labor collectives, school institutions and Houses of Culture and the histories of kolkhozes and plants are being written; busts of those after whom the enterprises and farms are named are being set up. Approximately 100 social museums are already functioning in the oblast. It has become a tradition to hold gatherings of three generations, to make the presentation of Komsomol membership cards and enrollment into the Pioneers by the walls of the Brest fortress and by the memorials to V. I. Lenin and the heroes of the Great Patriotic War, as well as to hold torch processions.

PRACTICE SHOWS THAT THE MOST EDUCATIONAL EFFECT IS ACHIEVED WHEN THE INDIVIDUAL IS AN ACTIVE PARTICIPANT IN IMPLEMENTING MEASURES, RATHER THAN A SPECTATOR. CONSEQUENTLY, WE STRIVE TO DRAW YOUNG PEOPLE INTO SEARCH WORK. THUS, APPROXIMATELY 4,000 PEOPLE PARTICIPATED IN SETTING UP THE MUSEUM OF COMBAT GLORY IN THE PRUZHANY SOVKHOZ TECHNICAL COLLEGE. THIS MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR THE STUDENTS TO FEEL AS IF THEY WERE INVOLVED IN THE HEROIC DEEDS OF THE OLDER GENERATIONS.

Trips to places of our people's revolutionary, combat and work glory have become a mass movement of young men and women. The geography of this movement is widening. The council for tourism and excursions in Brest Oblast has determined approximately 200 tourist routes to sites of past battles, partisan posts, fraternal graves and memorials.

4

When conducting any kind of educational measures, the needs and interests of the young audience are taken into account first and foremost. As was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, the political tempering of the growing generation is a matter of extreme importance. Sometimes, being politically inexperienced, some young people are unable to understand the complexities of the class struggle and the particular features of the arrangement of forces at the contemporary stage. A class attitude to reality, which was formerly instilled in the young under the influence of the most objective conditions of life and practice, can now be acquired by them only with the aid of Marxist-Leninist science, and is introduced into their consciousness by education and propaganda.

Proletarian consciousness was forged by life itself to our country, during the years of class battles. The question of who you were with and whose side you were on arose with brutal straightforwardness during the major and minor battles of the Civil War, in the periods of the New Economy Policy and collectivization, and finally reached maximum intensity in the days of the Great Patriotic War. The lessons of the war years prove completely clearly that the accomplishments of the fascists, who had set themselves the aim of destroying the first proletarian state in the world, were precisely the class

enemies of the proletariat--the White Guards and their children, the kulaks and their children, and the merchants and their children. It is precisely they who were the cruelest of the occupiers and who were settling scores with Soviet power.

During the past postwar decades class conflicts have disappeared within the domestic political sphere and moved completely to the international one. With every year it is becoming more and more complicated for the postwar generations to grasp the essence of class opposition which, in the past, daily dictated the conditions of life in every town and village. Young people know about those times only through books, theater performances, films and lectures. As early as their schooldays young men and women frequently lack a class feeling for the phenomena of life today. They do not always clearly understand that our present ideological enemy is the very same class enemy, only that he is now beyond the bounds of our system. Consequently, they do not always realize that ideological diversionists operating under the aegis of "concern" to "improve" the socialist system are in fact striving to liquidate it or at least to weaken it.

Unfortunately, phenomena such as scorn for socially useful work, political shortsightedness and indifference, and an inability to evaluate even poorly veiled provocation have not yet been eliminated among the young people.

AT ONE TIME THE KOMSOMOL BREST GORKOM CARRIED OUT AN UNUSUAL RAID ON THE STREETS OF THE OBLAST CENTER. YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN DRESSED IN IMPORTED CLOTHES COVERED IN DESIGNS WERE ASKED ONE AND THE SAME QUESTION: WHAT DO THESE DESIGNS REPRESENT? MANY WERE TAKEN BY SURPRISE BY THE QUESTION. ONE YOUNG MAN WAS CLEARLY DISMAYED TO FIND THAT HIS SHIRT WAS SPORTING THE NAME OF LIEUTENANT CALLEY OF THE U.S. ARMY, THE MURDERER OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN THE VIETNAM VILLAGE OF SONG MI. A GIRL WHOSE BLOUSE HAD ZIONIST STARS SCATTERED ALL OVER IT COULD NOT CONCEAL HER EMBARRASSMENT. "IT'S A PITY I WASTED MY MONEY," SHE SIGHED. THE CONVERSATION WITH SOME PEOPLE WEARING CROSSES (AS IT TURNED OUT, THEY WERE NONBELIEVERS) WAS MORE COMPLICATED. IT FINISHED UP AT THE PLENUM OF KOMSOMOL GORKOM. THE MATERIALS FROM THE RAID WERE PUBLISHED IN THE OBLAST NEWSPAPER ZARYA.

It is no secret that in some places Komsomol meetings and Pioneer gatherings have been conducted in too entertaining a fashion. Of course, the age characteristics of the growing generation presuppose the use of certain emotional-aesthetic means and rich symbolism, but within reason.

The party committees remind the organizers of the mass cultural measures: You must not forget how important it is to properly combine the rational and the emotional, and the cognitive and the entertaining. That is why we are now striving to draw well-trained specialists into organizing discotheques and youth evenings. Programs such as "Music in the Struggle for Peace," "Comrade Memory," "May It Never Again Be Repeated," and "My Blue-Eyed Belorussia" are popular among the young men and women of Brest.

The party committees strive to spread this kind of experience and to introduce it everywhere. The party and other social organizations explain the essence of bourgeois arts. Meetings with art critics, actors and critics are



frequently held in clubs and cinemas. Many of these meetings are organized directly before the films are shown.

One of the important tasks is to clearly coordinate and ensure the unbroken continuity of young people's education in the family, the school, educational institutions, vocational and technical schools, and the labor collectives. This problem is being paid ever greater attention. In accordance with the decision of the Obkom Bureau of the Communist Party of Belorussia, Komsomol obkom, gorkom and raykom plenums and meetings within the primary Komsomol organizations have been held with an agenda of "On the Tasks of the Komsomol Organizations To Further Intensify the Ideological-Class Tempering of Youth in Light of the Demands of the 26th CPSU Congress." Secretaries of the party committees and organizations have made reports at these sessions.

Foreign ideologists frequently complain that the party and Komsomol organizations consciously instill a feeling of class hatred in the growing generation, clearly substituting a concept such as vigilance with these words. It is precisely vigilance which combines perspicacity, a sensitive attitude to friends and irreconcilability to enemies and the highest responsibility which excludes indifference, carelessness, complacency and gullibility. As long as shots ring out on earth, and as long as delirious speeches about nuclear war are heard, we will remember the Leninist precept: "Be on guard, and remember that we are surrounded by people, classes and government which openly express the greatest hatred for us" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", vol 44, p 296).

The party organization in Brest Oblast does a great deal to weaken the influence of religion. The Brest region embarked upon the path of socialist transformations 20 years later than the republic's eastern territories. Consequently, vestiges in the consciousness of a section of the inhabitants are more perceptible here. The diversity of denominations and the existence of Orthodox, Catholic, and various trends of the Protestant Church also have an effect.

Sectarians are particularly active. Their communities arose at one time on the wave of protest against the domination of the official churches, primarily the Catholic and Uniate ones. Unfortunately, some of them have fallen with time under the influence of foreign subversive centers. A significant part of the publications confiscated by border guards and customs officials is made up of extremist literature of a religious nature. Channels of another kind also exist. In Stockholm a so-called special bureau operates which is called upon to give "help" to sectarians in our country. Parcels with definite ideological contents are sent by this "protector" to believers, including those in our oblast. This center fans the emigre sentiments [emigrantskiy nastroyeniya] among sectarians.

The bureau of the oblast party committee has worked out special measures to intensify atheistic work. These measures reflect the problems of perfecting atheistic propaganda in inhabited localities with a complex religious situation, selecting and training the ideological aktiv for individual work with believers, and introducing ceremonies and a more precise direction is given to measures of a propagandist and mass agitation nature.



Ideological workers strive to make atheistic education of a class nature, to explain the place and role of religion in the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism, to expose the antiscientific role of religion and its striving to adapt itself to new conditions, and to show the essence of modernist manipulations and the methods of reactionary cult servants.

5

The oblast press, radio and television actively expose the consumer morals of Western society.

The rubric "With the Eyes of Truth" has been in the oblast newspaper ZARYA for some years now. The publications "Return" and "Your House on Earth" tell of the bitter fate of Soviet citizens who believed the fabrications of the radio stations "Deutsche Welle" and "Radio Free Europe." The page "Remember Your Name" was devoted to the fate of a Drogichin peasant women who had become acquainted with the difficult lot of simple people in Canada. The essay "My Shore, My Tender Shore..." related to readers why three women from Baranovichi could not live in London. The dialogue between a doctor from a Brest hospital and an American pensioner, entitled "What Is the Price of Health?" is a convincing tale of the humanism of the Soviet health care system and of the business made on the health of the working people in the United States. "Discovery of the Guests from the Land of the Fjords" is a tale of the impressions of a Norwegian delegation interested in questions of the people's education in Brest. The newspaper also gives a great deal of space to articles by Soviet tourists who have visited capitalist countries. ZARYA has revealed to the public the real aims of those organizing the campaign to leave the Soviet Union "for religious reasons," and has shown the real face of emissaries from the so-called "Slav Mission" who were detained by the border services.

Materials published in the section "Businesslike Relations: The Moral Aspect" enjoys great popularity. A new newspaper section is the correspondence meeting of oblast workers carried in ZARYA regarding the problems of strengthening discipline and bringing proper order to every labor collective. The bureau of the party obkom has approved this idea of the editorial office.

The newspaper readers' attention has recently been attracted by materials under the rubric "Point of View." The publicity seeking article "Who Orders the Music?" which reveals the true face of certain popular groups in the West, such as Genghis Khan, aroused a great deal of response. The publication which revealed the real state of affairs and the origin of rumors and anecdotes casting aspersions on our reality has also been remembered.

"Lessons of Class Education" and "We Live on the Border" are the kind of titles under which the programs of the oblast radio are systematically prepared. Radio listeners learn of the vigilance of a border city's inhabitants and of the work of the customs' service from these programs. They are informed of the opinions of tourists from capitalist countries who have changed their opinion of the USSR after visiting our country, and they tell of the fate of those who swallowed the bait of bourgeois propaganda.

In their exposure of the bourgeois way of life, the party organizations and the ideological institutions actively utilize a channel, such as letters from fellow villagers who emigrated abroad during the years of the White Polish occupation, and interview them while they are visiting relatives. A considerable number of emigres have returned to the renewed polesye land.

VISITORS TO THE OBLAST MUSEUM OF REGIONAL STUDIES LINGER FOR A LONG TIME AT THE EXPOSITION ACCOMPANIED BY DOCUMENTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS RELATING THE FATE OF OUR FELLOW COUNTRYMAN AND NATIVE OF KOBRINSKIY RAYON, FEDOR LUKICH LEVONYUK. IN 1929, ABANDONING HIS NATIVE HOME AND FAMILY, HE SET OUT FOR URUGUAY, HOPING TO FIND A BETTER FATE THERE. THE "FASCINATION" OF BOURGEOIS PARADISE TURNED INTO A SERIES OF ORDEALS AND WANDERINGS, HUMILIATIONS AND LOSSES FOR HIM. BUT EVEN THERE, ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE OCEAN, HE REMAINED A TRUE SON OF HIS FATHERLAND. DURING THE YEARS OF THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR, HE WAS AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF A COMMITTEE FOR GIVING AID TO HIS HOMETLAND. AFTER THE WAR, HE WROTE A GREAT DEAL FOR EMIGRE PROGRESSIVE NEWSPAPERS. IT WAS A HAPPY GIFT OF FATE FOR LEVONYUK TO RETURN TO THE HOMETLAND. NOW, IN SPITE OF HIS DECLINING YEARS, HE CONDUCTS SOCIAL WORK AND CORRESPONDS WITH EMIGRE CENTERS IN ARGENTINA, PARAGUAY, AND AUSTRALIA, RELATING THE TRUTH ABOUT OUR COUNTRY.

While perfecting the system of communist education of the population, the oblast party committees strive to utilize the valuable experience of our neighbors. Cooperation of many years exists between the working people of the Volyn and Brest regions. The party committees of the two oblasts have conducted a series of joint ideological measures. The Maloritskiy Raykom of the Communist Party of Belorussia and the Ratnovskiy Raykom of the Communist Party of the Ukraine held a scientific-practical conference on "Ways of Forming a Class Approach to the Phenomena of Social Life." These raykoms organized a seminar of propagandists on the topic "Instilling Communist Moral Fiber and an Active Life Position in Every Student."

Critically analyzing the whole complex of measures conducted by us in class education, we are obliged to admit that they are sometimes not of a sufficiently aggressive nature and lack definition and political sharpness, that they are sometimes dominated by a purely educational direction, and that they lack clear conclusiveness and consistency in revealing the advantages of the socialist way of life and in criticizing bourgeois ideology.

The demand for the necessity of a class approach is frequently heard merely as an appeal which is not backed up by clear examples and detailed analysis of facts and phenomena. Sociological research shows that, despite the great number of measures, criticism aimed at ideological enemies is not always convincing.

Sometimes we do not achieve close interaction of oral forms and articles in the press. Unfortunately, agitators, political information workers and propagandists still often mechanically repeated generally known truths without considering how politically informed people are. They are still not all able to make generalizations by proceeding from well-known truths, or to direct people's attention into the necessary channel of fulfilled tasks. This has

repeatedly been discussed at party committee bureaus and plenums. This problem must arouse greater interest among our social scientists and organs of the central press.

Negative phenomena such as formalism, bureaucratism, bad management, a complacent attitude to antisocial acts and weak struggle against embezzlements seriously hinder the instilling of a principled class approach to social life among the working people.

Seeing class aspects in all directions of our activity and skillfully utilizing them as an important educational and mobilizing factor is one of the chief tasks fulfilled by the oblast party organizations. They teach communists and all the working people to comply with these demands everywhere and to evaluate their own actions through the prism of these demands.

Much has been done in this respect in the process of discussing the results of the November 1982, June and December 1983 and February 1984 CPSU Central Committee plenums, and in implementing the measures to strengthen labor discipline.

The arsenal of preventive measures against violations of the law has been considerably enriched within the oblast. The movement of collectives and inhabited localities to win the title of model collectives or localities is spreading. Support centers for maintaining law and order and councils for preventing violations of the law have been formed. More than 65,000 people participate in the work of the voluntary people's militia.

The party organizations construct their work in such a way so as to strengthen the understanding of every individual that his work is indissolubly linked with implementing the worldwide historic mission of the workers class and with fulfilling the internationalist duty to the international communist and workers movement.

Comrade K. U. Chernenko noted at the February 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum that the duty of the communist party lies in constantly collating its policy, decisions and actions primarily with the ideas of the workers class, and with its immense sociopolitical and class feeling.

The party organization of Brest Oblast sees the key to perfecting the instilling of class consciousness in Soviet people in these words. We will spare no effort to further heighten the militancy of communists and will thereby also perfect all ideological activity.

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## KEY RESERVES IN THE MANAGEMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

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[Article by Academician T. Gvishiani, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology. Capitalized passages published in italics in source]

[Text] In his speech at the February 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, pointed out the need for continued work in seriously reorganizing the economy's management system. Fulfilling this task requires the preparation of a complex program to perfect the entire management mechanism which must accord with the economy of developed socialism and the nature of the tasks being solved. This program must envisage a wide range of organizational-economic measures, many of which should be long-term and be implemented in stages. The interests of rapid advancement of the country's economy along an intensive path of development make it necessary to incorporate in the program primary measures to utilize those management reserves that can produce major effects in the immediate future.

Implementing decisions of the 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses in national economic management in recent years, several of the country's functional spheres, branches, and regions have implemented a complex of major measures to perfect the organizational forms and methods of adopting and implementing the plan and management decisions and to introduce programmatic forms of national economic planning primarily in agroindustry and in the management of large-scale scientific-technical innovations. The USSR State Planning Committee's structure has been reorganized and its functions more precisely defined. Measures have been adopted to increase the role of local soviets in economic construction.

The experience of successful functioning of the scientific-production and industrial production associations (the Leningrad Optical-Mechanical Association, the Lenin Plant, the Ivanov Machine Tool Building Production Association, the Minsk Tractor Plant and others) as well as in agroindustry (the experience of the RSFSR, the Baltic republics and Georgia) is of major importance. The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on the Work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia in Perfecting the Management System, Raising the Level of Economic Work, and Efficiently Utilizing Reserves attests to the consistent policy the party follows in this sphere.

The system of complex integral process planning of scientific-technical progress in the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, which has enabled that industry to produce the highest proportion of highest quality new products among all of the country's industries, has become widely known. At the initiative of the Electric Power, Zaporozhye Transformer, and other production associations, the same ministry is successfully implementing a material resources economizing program of the 11th Five-Year Plan period. In this connection a material consumption intensity index has been incorporated in the technical level charts and it directly affects the product quality category and the material stimuli for work.

The new effective organizational forms of introducing scientific achievements have been used by the E. O. Paton Institute of Electrical Welding, which has taken the lead in forming the unified system of the "institute-designers' bureau-experimental production-experimental plant," which makes it possible to develop new industrial technologies in 2 to 2.5 years.

The formation of the USSR State Planning Committee's Interdepartmental Territorial Commission for the Problems of the West Siberian Oil and Gas Complex represents a qualitatively new stage in plan management through the formation of territorial production complexes (TPC). Regardless of its limited authority, the commission has developed and is engaged in active work in coordinating activities of ministries and departments in Western Siberia. The planning of several territorial production complexes in individual branches has been also introduced, something that stimulates an efficient complex utilization of resources.

At the same time, the work accomplished to perfect the economic mechanism of management on the whole has proved still insufficient to bring the national economic management system in line with the requirements to intensify it more rapidly.

"The party also raises with all sharpness, among other things, the question of developing the perfecting of economic management and reorganizing economic management and reorganizing economic mechanism on a wide front," Comrade K. U. Chernenko points out. This is required from both the theoretical and the practical viewpoints of precisely determining the effect that each individual's utilization of management reserves has on the economy as well as the conditions for utilizing these reserves and determining their interdependence and interaction.

The problem of broadening the economic independence of basic units, production associations, enterprises and organizations is a central question in perfecting management. Its solution is of principled significance, first from the viewpoint of creating the most favorable economic and organizational conditions for activity of the primary economic social production cell and, second--proceeding from the most efficient distribution of functions, responsibilities and rights between the basic unit and higher management levels--from the viewpoint of improving effectiveness of the entire organizational-economic mechanism of management.

In our country there are certain shortcomings in the activities of production associations and enterprises. In recent years there have been acute problems in connection with industrial enterprises' slovenly fulfillment of their obligations in delivering products to consumers: The quality of products is often not up to the required standards; enterprises are reluctant to try to reduce their production costs; and labor productivity and production technical standards are improving only slowly. Labor collectives' interest in the most intensive utilization of available resources and their responsibility for the final results of their activities are clearly insufficient. The 26th CPSU Congress noted that the general direction of perfecting management is to widen the independence of associations and enterprises and the rights and responsibilities of economic leaders. The November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee emphasized that the time has come to adopt a practical approach to solving this question. The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Supplementary Measures on Broadening the Rights of the Industrial Production Associations (Enterprises) in Planning and Economic Activity and on Intensifying Their Responsibility for the Results of Work," adopted on 14 July 1983, represents an important step in this direction.

The large-scale economic experiment being carried out in accord with this resolution is aimed at practically verifying the complex of measures to broaden the rights of the basic industrial unit, the production association (enterprises), in planning and economic activity, and to intensify their responsibility for the results of work. This will make it possible, beginning in 1986, to introduce economic management methods that have also justified themselves in other industrial branches and prepare to compile the control figures and the draft plan for economic and social development in the 12th Five-Year Plan period. The main task of the implemented measures is to ensure the fullest possible combination of economic accountability independence and responsibility of production associations and enterprises.

ESSENTIAL REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF PLAN INDEXES DETERMINED BY DIRECTIVES IS ONE OF THE KEY DIRECTIONS OF THE EXPERIMENT NOW BEING CARRIED OUT. TO ENSURE THAT 5-YEAR PLANS BECOME A MEANS OF CONTRIBUTING TO THE EFFECTIVE UTILIZATION OF ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE SCIENTIFIC TECHNICAL PROGRESS, THEY ENVISAGE ONLY CONSOLIDATED POSITIONS AND ONLY BASIC TASKS IN DEVELOPING PRODUCTION AND IMPROVING ITS EFFICIENCY.

THE CONSISTENT REALIZATION OF THIS APPROACH WILL CREATE PREREQUISITES THAT WILL MAKE IT POSSIBLE AFTERWARDS TO CENTRALLY PLAN ONLY THAT PRODUCTION ACTIVITY WHICH IS OF NATIONAL ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE AND WHICH DETERMINES LONG-TERM STRUCTURAL POLICY. IT IS ALSO NECESSARY TO REDUCE THE LIST OF CENTRALLY DISTRIBUTED PRODUCTS, ENSURE AND CONSISTENT TRANSITION TO DIRECT CONTRACTUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THOSE DELIVERING THE PRODUCTS AND THEIR CONSUMERS, AND DEVELOP WHOLESALE TRADE IN THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION. THIS WILL MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO CREATE ORGANIZATIONAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS FOR MORE BALANCED PLANS AND FOR INTENSIFYING ECONOMIC ACCOUNTABILITY: IT WILL IMPROVE THE OPERATIONAL CHARACTER OF PLANNING, SHARPLY REDUCE THE TURNOVER OF DOCUMENTS AND THE VOLUME OF WORK IN THE BRANCH MANAGEMENT APPARATUS, THE USSR STATE COMMITTEE FOR MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL SUPPLY, AND THE USSR STATE PLANNING COMMITTEE, AND INTENSIFY THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ADOPTED DECISIONS AT ALL MANAGEMENT LEVELS.



THE DEVELOPMENT OF POSSIBILITIES FOR TECHNICALLY RE-EQUIPPING AND RECONSTRUCTING ENTERPRISES AND ASSOCIATIONS FROM THEIR OWN RESOURCES ALLOTTED FROM THEIR PROFITS IS ANOTHER IMPORTANT DIRECTION OF THE EXPERIMENT WHICH WILL HELP TO ACCELERATE SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL PROGRESS. IT IS FOR THIS PURPOSE THAT THE RIGHTS OF ASSOCIATIONS AND ENTERPRISES TO INDEPENDENTLY USE PRODUCTION DEVELOPMENT FUNDS HAVE BEEN ESSENTIALLY BROADENED. THE FULFILLMENT OF THESE RIGHTS IS ENSURED BY THE PLANNED INTRODUCTION OF NONCENTRALIZED CAPITAL INVESTMENTS. IT WILL BE POSSIBLE ON THIS BASIS TO MOVE IN EARNEST TOWARD SOLVING THE PROBLEM OF INTENSIFYING THE STIMULATING ROLE OF PROFIT AND TO CHANGE ENTERPRISES AND ORGANIZATIONS TO THE NORMATIVE METHOD OF ITS DISTRIBUTION.

It is obvious that increasing economic independence presupposes that the basic unit must be granted the necessary right to make decisions on the most important directions of its economic activity. The creation of wider possibilities for using the profits for capital construction, the output of new products, and so forth, requires a certain decentralization of distribution of some part of resources and possibilities for direct contractual relations between economic organizations. The independence of the basic unit creates conditions for increasing the role of economic agreements on which the basic assortment of products must be determined. As a result of this, the economic responsibility for the conditions of fulfilling the contractual commitments can be considerably intensified. Mutual relations between enterprises and associations and state administration organs can also be built on the basis of a wide application of contractual relations, which will increase the responsibility for the quality of adopted decisions.

It is extraordinarily important that greater economic responsibility of the basic unit for the final results and its economic independence will create possibilities for widening the participation of labor collectives in directly managing production and in making the most important economic decisions, as stipulated by the Law on Labor Collectives. It is obvious that, under a more complete economic accountability system, the work remuneration and all income of the collective must directly depend on the final results of the activity of the enterprise concerned. The work of complex brigades in construction and the use of brigade contracts in industry show that this approach has fully justified itself. It has revealed enormous reserves of the growth of labor productivity and of the initiative of the labor collectives. As a result of an increased independence of enterprises and associations, the collective must inevitably share the responsibility for the results of the enterprise's work and, consequently, the need of the working people's wider participation in managing the production will increase.

The economic mechanism's development directly presupposes utilization of management reserves based on intensification of the material and moral stimulation of workers that directly link their work incomes with the final results of activities. Unfortunately, a leveling approach is still widely practiced in economic operations. The principle of forming the planned fund of work remuneration on the basis "of the achieved" and rigid determination of the absolute size of that fund have been adopted everywhere. According to supplementary measures adopted in this connection on limiting the increase of the work wages of labor collectives (and of individual workers) showing an



increased labor productivity, the difference in work incomes does not exceed 15 to 40 percent whereas the labor productivity in many cases is two or three times higher or even more.

The limited use of the Shchekinoskiy method is caused in many respects by the effect of the leveling principle of work remuneration and the practice of planning on the basis "of the achieved." The mechanism of the formation of wholesale prices on the basis of actual production costs also had the same kind of effect. An unsatisfactory effective demand connected with the shortage of high-quality consumer goods and services extraordinarily strongly limits stimuli for the growth of labor productivity.

On the whole, to utilize this most effective management reserve, it is necessary to insure consistent implementation of the complex of measures on forming an effective system of materially and morally stimulating the growth of labor productivity. Only then can the organizational restructuring produce the expected effect.

In accordance with the decisions of the 24th, 25th and 26th CPSU congresses and the resolutions of the party and the government, a great deal of work in perfecting the organizational structure of management has been accomplished in the country. In past years, this work has been carried out mainly in industry on the basis of elaboration and introduction of general models of industrial management branches. About 30 general models worked out by industrial ministries have now been established. However, these measures have turned out to be insufficient to make the management system of the national economy accord with the requirements of intensified production.

GENERAL MODELS WERE DRAFTED FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF DEPARTMENTAL POSITIONS AND FOR THAT REASON HAVE FAILED TO UTILIZE ALL POSSIBILITIES FOR FORMING EFFECTIVE PRODUCTION AND INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATIONS AND, IN SOME CASES, AN EXCESSIVE NUMBER OF STAGES HAVE BEEN PRESERVED IN THE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM.

CERTAIN IMPROVEMENT OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF BRANCH MANAGEMENT AND REDUCTION OF THE SIZE OF THE MANAGEMENT APPARATUS ARE POSSIBLE AS A RESULT OF A REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF STAGES AND AN ELIMINATION OF PARALLELISM IN THE LEADERSHIP OF SEVERAL BRANCHES. FOR INSTANCE, IN THE METALLURGICAL, COAL, PETROCHEMICAL, TIMBER, WOODWORKING AND ENERGY INDUSTRIES AND IN GEOLOGY, SEVERAL ENTERPRISES AND ASSOCIATIONS OF THE SAME BRANCH AND IN THE SAME REPUBLIC ARE SUBORDINATED TO UNION AND REPUBLIC AUTHORITIES. THIS SHOWS THE POSSIBILITY TO BRING IN ORDER THE SUBORDINATION OF ENTERPRISES, TO SIMPLIFY IT, AND, AT THE SAME TIME, ACHIEVE A CERTAIN REDUCTION IN THE MANAGEMENT APPARATUS.

IN ANALYZING THE EXISTING STYLE AND METHODS OF MINISTERIAL AND DEPARTMENTAL LEADERSHIP, IT IS NOT DIFFICULT TO NOTICE THAT THIS LEADERSHIP'S HIGHER LEVELS ARE OVERLOADED WITH OPERATIONAL TASKS AND THAT A MAJORITY OF DECISIONS ARE MADE DIRECTLY BY TOP PERSONS IN THE MANAGEMENT APPARATUS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE MANAGEMENT APPARATUS HAS AT ITS DISPOSAL STRONG AND NUMEROUS FUNCTIONAL BLOCKS THAT SHIFT ALL BASIC SOLUTIONS TO HIGHER LEVELS OF LEADERSHIP, THEREBY NOT ONLY OVERLOADING THE LATTER WITH NUMEROUS PARTICULAR ISSUES BUT

ALSO, AT THE SAME TIME, LOWERING THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE FUNCTIONAL SUBDIVISIONS AND THEIR LEADERS. YET, IT IS PRECISELY THE LATTER WHO ENSURE BASIC LINKS BETWEEN THE SUBORDINATED ORGANIZATION AND THE MINISTRIES' CENTRAL APPARATUS.

THIS PROBLEM CAN BE SOLVED IN TWO WAYS. FIRST, BY ELABORATING IN GREATER DETAIL THE FUNCTIONAL MUTUAL EFFECT WITHIN THE MANAGEMENT APPARATUS, BY ACCURATELY REGULATING PROCEDURES IN THE PROCESS OF DECISIONMAKING, AND BY DETERMINING PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CONCRETE RESULTS OF MANAGEMENT ACTIVITIES. THIS WORK HAS BEEN STARTED IN A NUMBER OF MINISTRIES BUT IT HAS NOT YET BECOME SUFFICIENTLY WIDESPREAD.

SECOND, BY BROADENING THE MINISTRIES' RIGHTS AS REGARDS THE MAIN ISSUES IN THEIR ACTIVITIES AND BY ENSURING THAT MANY DECISIONS ARE TRANSMITTED TO THEM BY THE ORGANS OF INTERBRANCH MANagements. IN THAT EVENT, IT WILL BECOME SIMPLER TO MORE ACCURATELY DELIMIT THE FUNCTIONS AND RIGHTS WITHIN THE MANAGEMENT APPARATUS AND WIDEN THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE FUNCTIONAL SUBDIVISIONS, LEADERS IN DECISIONMAKING. THIS WILL CREATE ADDITIONAL CONDITIONS FOR DELEGATING AUTHORITY FROM THE HIGHER TO THE NEXT LOWER LEVEL OF MANAGEMENT ON A BROADER SCALE.

A great deal of work will also have to be done to perfect the structure of production and industrial associations. Some which have organized formalistically should be dissolved and some others should be further enlarged; in this connection it is important to adopt a nondepartmental approach to avoid repetition of past mistakes.

Certain reserves also exist to consolidate all-union ministries, which can be carried out in particular also in connection with the strengthening of economic accountability independence of enterprises and associations.

FOR INSTANCE, LET US CONSIDER TRANSPORTATION. ITS ENORMOUS IMPORTANCE HAS BEEN DISCUSSED MANY TIMES. THE PERFECTING OF ITS MANAGEMENT SYSTEM IS ONE OF THE IMPORTANT DIRECTIONS IN SOLVING THIS BRANCH'S PROBLEMS. CONSIDERABLE DIFFERENCES IN TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT TECHNOLOGY IN THE TRANSPORTATION PROCESS BY VARIOUS TYPES OF TRANSPORT AND DIFFERENCES IN THE ECONOMIC ESSENCE OF THE STAGES OF TRANSPORTATION PROCESS SERIOUSLY HINDER MANAGEMENT UNIFICATION. AT THE SAME TIME, THERE IS AN OBJECTIVE NEED TO OVERCOME THE NARROW LIMITS OF MINISTERIAL PLANNING FOR AND MANAGEMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL TYPES OF TRANSPORT AND TO JOINTLY EXAMINE THE DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS OF THE MOST CLOSELY INTERCONNECTED TRANSPORT SYSTEMS--THE RAILWAY, MARITIME, AIR, ROAD, RIVER, AND PIPELINE TRANSPORTS. IT IS ALSO NECESSARY TO ESTABLISH THE LINKS BETWEEN DEPARTMENTAL TRANSPORT AND GENERAL TRANSPORT. THERE ARE MANY GENERAL PROBLEMS IN TRANSPORT, IRRESPECTIVE OF ANY DEPARTMENTAL AFFILIATION. WHAT IS INVOLVED IN THIS CONNECTION ARE TECHNOLOGICAL TRANSPORT (TRANSFER OF MATERIAL MEANS IN THE PRODUCTION PROCESS), CIRCULATION TRANSPORT (FOR INSTANCE, THE TRANSPORT OF THE SEMIFINISHED PRODUCTS), AND INDUSTRIAL TRANSPORT (BETWEEN WAREHOUSES OF ENTERPRISES AND TO THE MAIN TRANSPORT LINES). THE FORMATION OF A UNIFIED TRANSPORTATION AND MANAGEMENT SYSTEM COULD BE ONE OF THE VARIATIONS IN PERFECTING THIS MANAGEMENT. ANOTHER VARIATION COULD BE THE FORMATION OF A SYSTEM OF COORDINATING ORGANS AT VARIOUS LEVELS OF LEADERSHIP.

On the whole, the possibilities for a horizontal integration of branch links at higher levels, the corresponding overcoming of departmental barriers, and the improved operational capability and quality of management will essentially depend on development of the economic mechanism. Weakened regularization of the basic link's activity will lead to simplifying the organizational structure, reducing the number of stages and eliminating departmental seclusion.

What is often pointed out is the need to intensify economic accountability activities of the branch ministries as a means of increasing the stability of planning for resources, of more closely coordinating the real and cost indexes in the activities of a branch as a whole, and of increasing its responsibility for meeting national economic needs.

Vertical intensification of economic accountability is not possible without deepening the basic unit's economic accountability. In this connection it is important to determine at what level--of the enterprise or of the production of industrial association--economic accountability should be applied to the fullest extent in relation to possibilities for increasing the relative economic separation of the reproduction process in the economic unit concerned and in relation to increasing this unit's economic responsibility for the final results of activity.

Development of the economic accountability system from lower to higher levels inevitably brings close together the interests of all management links and helps them grow into a unified economic system with their own interests. In this connection local interests cannot always coincide with national economic interests. This tendency is also noticed now in branch ministries' activities and is characterized as a manifestation of departmentalism. Of course, departmentalism is not caused only by the existence of special local interests but to a considerable extent is determined by that factor. A ministry is primarily an organ of a branch's state administration and for that reason it must be a part of the unified system of the state leadership of economy.

Evidently, in thinking about increasing the responsibility and improving the work of ministries' apparatus, it is necessary to seek ways of perfecting that work from the viewpoint of that place and role the ministries must have in the system of the state administration of the national economy.

THE EXTENT OF THE VERTICAL DEVELOPMENT ECONOMIC ACCOUNTABILITY AND ITS EXTENSION TO COMPLEXES LARGER THAN PRODUCTION ASSOCIATIONS MUST BE DETERMINED BY THE EXPEDIENCY OF FURTHER INCREASING PRODUCTION AND ECONOMIC CONCENTRATION AND BY THE REAL POSSIBILITIES OF CENTRALIZED MANAGEMENT AND ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS. AS IS KNOWN, THESE POSSIBILITIES DIRECTLY DEPEND ON THE DEGREE OF REGULARIZATION OF THE ACTIVITIES OF ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS, THE QUANTITY OF INDEXES SET FOR THEM INDIVIDUALLY, AND THE NUMBER OF THE OBJECTS OF MANAGEMENT AND THEIR TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION. AT PRESENT, BECAUSE OF THEIR INSIGNIFICANT SIZE, FUNDS CENTRALIZED IN INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATIONS CANNOT SERIOUSLY EFFECT EXPANDED REPRODUCTION WITHIN THESE COMPLEXES AND MANY VERY IMPORTANT DECISIONS ON PROVIDING CAPITAL INVESTMENT AND MATERIAL TECHNICAL RESOURCES FOR ENTERPRISES AND ASSOCIATIONS ARE MADE AT THE BRANCH AND INTERBRANCH

LEVELS OF MANAGEMENT. THIS SITUATION NATURALLY DOES NOT CONTRIBUTE TO TRANSFORMING INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATIONS INTO UNIFIED PRODUCTION-ECONOMIC COMPLEXES OPERATING ON THE BASIS OF ECONOMIC ACCOUNTABILITY BUT ONLY TURNS THEM INTO INTERMEDIATE LINKS OF MANAGEMENT WITH PRIMARILY PLANNING AND DISTRIBUTION FUNCTIONS. FOR THIS REASON THE ECONOMIC ACCOUNTABILITY SYSTEM MUST BE DEVELOPED AND THE ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE OF ENTERPRISES AND ASSOCIATIONS MUST BE BROADENED SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE STRENGTHENING OF MINISTRIES, PUT THEIR ACTIVITIES IN ORDER, MORE PRECISELY DIVIDE THE FUNCTIONS BETWEEN THEM AND THE ORGANS OF INTERBRANCH MANAGEMENT, AND INCREASE THEIR RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ADOPTED DECISIONS.

STRENGTHENING OF THE SYSTEM OF INDUSTRIAL BRANCH MANAGEMENT REQUIRES THAT THE GOALS AND TASKS OF THE BRANCH MINISTRIES CONFORM WITH THEIR REAL ECONOMIC RIGHTS. HOW CAN THE MINISTRY REALISTICALLY BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FULLEST POSSIBLE SATISFACTION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC NEEDS IN THE PRODUCTION OF BRANCHES IF VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS CONCERN THEMSELVES WITH DISTRIBUTING THE PRODUCTS, DETERMINING THEIR ASSORTMENT AND ALLOTING CAPITAL INVESTMENTS AND OTHER RESOURCES? IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THE MINISTRY AS AN ORGAN OF A BRANCH'S STATE ADMINISTRATION MUST HAVE BROADER RIGHTS IN ALL SPHERES OF ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP AND, ACCORDINGLY, IT IS NECESSARY TO DETERMINE THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF BRANCH AND INTERBRANCH ORGANS OF MANAGEMENT.

INCREASING THE EFFICIENCY OF THE DISTRIBUTION ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS AND OF THE MATERIAL-TECHNICAL SUPPLY IS A RIPE ISSUE. FOR INSTANCE, FOR SOME TIME PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN MADE TO TRANSFER THE EVERYDAY SERVICE AND REPAIR ORGANIZATIONS AND THE ALL-UNION MAIN ADMINISTRATIONS OF THE USSR STATE COMMITTEE FOR MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL SUPPLY TO BRANCH MINISTRIES. THIS WOULD REALLY ESSENTIALLY SIMPLIFY THE DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF PRODUCTS, LIQUIDATE THE MULTICHANNEL NATURE OF THIS DISTRIBUTION, AND CONSIDERABLY INCREASE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF INDUSTRIAL MINISTRIES FOR MORE FULLY MEETING THE DEMAND FOR DELIVERED PRODUCTS.

UNDER THESE CONDITIONS THE USSR STATE COMMITTEE FOR MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL SUPPLY WILL BE ABLE TO CONCENTRATE ITS EFFORTS ON ITS INTERMEDIATE FUNCTIONS, ON DEVELOPING WHOLESALE TRADE IN MEANS OF PRODUCTION, AND ON STRENGTHENING THE PRODUCTION BASIS OF THE MATERIAL-TECHNICAL SUPPLY. THERE ARE ALSO OTHER VIEWPOINTS ACCORDING TO WHICH THE USSR STATE COMMITTEE FOR MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL SUPPLY SHOULD ASSUME THE FULL FUNCTION OF ORDERING THE ENTIRE ASSORTMENT OF PRODUCTS TO BE PRODUCED AND CENTRALIZED EVEN MORE THE FUNCTIONS OF EVERYDAY SERVICES AND REPAIRS. IN THAT EVENT, IN OUR OPINION, THE BASIC UNIT'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR FINAL RESULTS WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY DECLINE AND SUCH A MEASURE WOULD BE CONTRARY TO THE GENERALLY RECOGNIZED NEED TO BROADEN THE ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE OF PRODUCTION ASSOCIATIONS AND ENTERPRISES.

THE EXTRAORDINARY ORGANIZATIONAL DISCONNECTEDNESS AND MULTISTAGE OPERATIONS IN CONSTRUCTION MANAGEMENT CAUSE MANY SHORTCOMINGS IN THE WORK OF CONSTRUCTION ORGANIZATIONS. A SITUATION THAT HAS DEVELOPED IN THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE IN RECENT YEARS IS THAT, IN INDUSTRY, THERE HAVE BEEN ABOUT 13 TO 14 MANAGERS FOR EVERY 100 WORKERS BUT, IN CONSTRUCTION, THE AVERAGE NUMBER OF MANAGERS HAS BEEN ABOUT 17 TO 19 FOR EVERY 100 WORKERS. FOR INSTANCE, IN 1982, THE MORE THAN 300 CONSTRUCTION ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING IN KALININ OBLAST WERE SUBORDINATED TO 36 MINISTRIES AND DEPARTMENTS. AMONG THESE ORGANIZATIONS

WERE MANY SMALL AND INEFFICIENT ONES. WE HAVE WIDE POSSIBILITIES OF IMPROVING THE ORGANIZATION OF CONSTRUCTION MANAGEMENT. BUT A COMPLEX OF MEASURES IS NATURALLY NEEDED FOR THAT PURPOSE. WE WILL LIST THE MOST IMPORTANT ONES. TO ELIMINATE PARALLELISM FROM THE MANAGEMENT OF CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITIES, SUCH ACTIVITIES (EXCEPT FOR SPECIAL TYPES OF CONSTRUCTION) IN UNION AND AUTONOMOUS REPUBLICS, KRAYS AND OBLASTS SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT, AS A RULE, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE RESPECTIVE MAIN TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND FOR THAT PURPOSE IT WOULD BE EXPEDIENT TO FORM ALL UNION CONSTRUCTION AND INSTALLATION ASSOCIATIONS ORGANIZED ON THE TERRITORIAL PRINCIPLE AND EACH WITH THE VOLUME OF PROJECTS VALUED AT NO LESS THAN 150 TO 200 MILLION RUBLES. THE FORMATION OF PRODUCTION CONSTRUCTION AND INSTALLATION ASSOCIATIONS AS THE ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS OF MANAGEMENT OF THE BASIC UNIT SHOULD BE DEVELOPED. ON THE WHOLE, JUST AS IN CONSIDERING THE PROBLEMS OF TRANSPORT MANAGEMENT, THE QUESTION OF A UNIFIED MANAGEMENT ORGAN ALSO ARISES IN RELATION TO THE CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITY AS A BRANCH.

A large number of organizational problems will have to be solved in perfecting the territorial management and management of the national economies of union republics. Territorial management is still being implemented inefficiently.

The appropriate general models of management must be worked out for a complex solution of economic leadership problems in the union republics. A number of principled questions will have to be solved for this purpose. Among these questions are: increasing the republics' role in managing the complex of branches that produce consumer goods, and eliminating local copying of the entire management structure at the all-union level.

Organizational conditions for implementing the coordination and control authority of republic and local organs need to be perfected. The role of local budgets must also be enhanced and the mechanism for forming these budgets for noncentralized sources perfected. There is a need to strengthen the territorial management of such interbranch complexes as those of transport and services and those producing consumer goods.

One of the currently important problems under the contemporary conditions is that of developing interbranch management aimed at improving production and scientific-technical cooperation, eliminating the dispersion of limited resources, and implementing a coordinated scientific-technical and investment policy in the closely interconnected group of branches. This task must be solved through the mutually connected development of economic and organizational mechanisms. And in this connection organizational and economic solutions must extend both to higher and lower levels of interbranch management.

The question of forming interbranch and multinational associations in which enterprises and organizations of different department subordination would be incorporated has begged solution for a long time now. These associations could be agroindustrial, industrial and trade, production and service, transport, construction and installation, and specialized production associations. Of course, in this connection there are very many economic problems primarily as regards the organization of providing the necessary resources: however, we have already gained the first experience in forming such associations and not only in agriculture.



Under socialist conditions, the objective foundation is laid for efficient and planned solutions for large-scale national economic problems. We have at our disposal one of the most effective instruments for this purpose, the organizational economic mechanism of special purpose program management.

The country has accumulated a certain experience of program management by solving interbranch scientific-technical problems. At present, 170 state scientific-technical programs have been formed for the 11th Five-Year Plan period and for the period through 1990; the program methods and forms of management are used in developing the country's energy basis, solving food problems and forming territorial production complexes. Nevertheless, program management reserves are still not fully utilized by far.

On one hand, problems of working out and selecting the most important special-purpose national economic programs and of incorporating them in national economic plans have not been completely solved. The formation of large-scale programs and their coordination with national economic, branch and territorial plans require a great deal of additional work, primarily in the USSR State Planning Committee and the branch ministries. A judicious balance is necessary in this connection: Essential intensification of the program section of the plan is possible if the central planning organs are released from a number of current planning functions and if these functions are moved to lower levels, the levels of economic units. It will not be difficult to carry this out if the economic independence of the basic unit is broadened and if the role of economic methods of leadership of the national economy is enhanced.

Experience has shown that the plan and coordination leadership of major programs that have strongly expressed interbranch goals frequently does not have the expected effects. Special organs of program management with the necessary rights and centralized resources are required for this purpose. Only in this way can the full economic effect of the program's implementation be achieved. The problem of organizationally and economically ensuring fulfillment of the program is quite acute. Experience gained in fulfillment of the scientific-technical programs and of the program to form the territorial production complexes confirms this. Departmental disconnectedness, dispersion of resources and the absence of a complex approach to implementing program measures can be overcome on the basis of organizationally centralizing the functions of program management and control and forming the economic mechanism that will ensure necessary interest in and responsibility for implementing program measures. At the same time, it is necessary to create economic conditions for successful activities of various interbranch organizations which include the enterprises and organizations of various departments or individuals of these enterprises and organizations who are performing specialized production and economic functions in the program fulfillment. Experience in the formation of territorial production complexes convincingly confirms the need to create such flexible organizational forms at the level of economic units.

Perfecting of organizational-economic forms and methods of accelerating the scientific-technical progress, that is, of central direction in the intensification of social production and increase of labor productivity, has a



special place and significance among the key management reserves of the national economy. The importance of this reserve is determined primarily by the realities of the economic situation in which, during the last decade, the increase in production funds as well as in science expenditures and in numbers of people engaged in science has not brought a corresponding increase in growth rates of the production volume of labor productivity. And what is more, these characteristics of production efficiency have somewhat worsened regardless of the fact that hundreds of thousands of measures on introducing new equipment have been taken and thousands of new models of machines and mechanisms have been introduced every year.

The acceleration of scientific-technical progress is a most important task of all management organs at levels ranging from the lowest to the highest ones and the search for reserves in this direction must continue without interruption. New decisions adopted after the November CPSU Central Committee 1982 Plenum and the important experiments in stimulating the construction and introduction of new technical equipment have significantly affected this task.

"However," as Yu. V. Andropov noted, "the organization of the entire complex of scientific-technical tasks has not been completed by far. It has been noted that several branches are marking time, that plans for new technical equipment are not being fulfilled, and that the volume of these plans leaves room for improvement. The national economic situation requires a decisive orientation of ministries, departments, and the USSR Academy of Sciences to raise the technical level of production and the quality of products."

Shortcomings in the mechanism of introducing the results of scientific research to production operations are the main reasons for the lag in the rates of scientific-technical progress. A considerable number of the already completed major and potentially highly effective scientific discoveries in the fields of the metallurgical, chemical and machine building industries and in biology have waited for years to be applied in practice. At the same time, the new technical equipment that has been introduced is producing less than expected in a considerable number of cases. All this urgently requires that the mechanism of introducing scientific and technological achievements in production operations be perfected.

Effective measures along the following lines must be taken to accelerate a real utilization of reserves in the management of scientific-technical progress.

The level of the interdepartmental coordination of scientific-technical policy needs to be raised, primarily on the basis of stricter coordination of activities of the State Committee for Science for Inventions and Discoveries. The interests of an effective introduction of interdepartmental special purpose scientific-technical programs require accelerated preparations of organizational-methodological documents on managing special-purpose programs, improved organization of the program management, and the allotment of necessary resources.

A question that is ripe is that of decisively moving branch sciences closer to production activities on the basis of their direct organizational integration involving the inclusion of a majority of branch institutes in industrial

and production associations. The experience of the leading scientific-production associations in which the time lapse between designing and introducing new technical equipment in production activities does not exceed 2 to 3 years, attests to the potential effectiveness of this management reserve. At the same time, it is necessary to ensure that science really does--and not only formally--move closer to production activities by introducing the system of an integral process planning of the "research-practice" cycle and the system of complex financing, material stimulation, and control of all stages of the process.

The perfecting of the economic mechanism both in the sphere of science and in the sphere of production implies, first and foremost, improved quality in planning and well-organized material-technical supply in the ministries and in economic organizations. It is here that an established order of planned implementation of the scientific-technical cycle is still lacking, that numerous cases of lack of coordination and of refusals regarding fulfillment are tolerated, and that the necessary development planning in designing and building new technical equipment is frequently lacking. It is clear that a unified guiding document must be prepared and introduced into practice in the shortest possible time that will be binding on all coparticipants in the execution, that is, on the initiators of orders, contractors and subcontractors, and that will establish a clear order of execution of the scientific-technical tasks, financing and control, and that will envisage the necessary reserves of resources and capacities. It is also important to sharply simplify the procedures and volumes of document preparations on new technical equipment, and reduce to a minimum the number of agreements required (at present, scores of official signatures are often required and this takes many months). Special control should also be introduced as regards the delivery of parts to complete new equipment.

In the system of material stimulation, it is necessary to essentially raise the amounts of bonus payments in reward for building new highly productive technical equipment, ensure a more efficient distribution of these payments between equipment designers and makers and production workers, and increase economic organizations' interest in introducing technical innovations.

Considerable opportunities also exist in perfecting the planning and stimulation system directly in the sphere of science which also needs to switch at an accelerated rate to the path of intensive development.

Urgent measures should be taken to increase the readiness to utilize in practice the scientific-technical achievements and designs provided by fundamental science. The effective path to be followed in this connection is to "complete the construction" of academic institutes by building special technological design bureaus and experimental production facilities in them.

The current importance of expanding international scientific-technical relations is determined by objective long-term tendencies that have become apparent in connection with closer economic integration of the socialist countries, the intensified international division of labor, and the increased importance of global problems that require joint solutions. To increase the effectiveness of these relations, it is necessary to expand the spectrum of

forms of bilateral and multilateral scientific-technical cooperation, including its realization on the basis of long-term programs and joint projects.

A majority of the listed management reserves are large-scale and long-term. The level and scope of their utilization will in many respects determine the rates and real dynamics of the development of the Soviet economy in the 12th Five-Year Plan period. At the same time, there are also quite a few instant reserves that can produce quick returns virtually immediately and without any large capital investment. What these reserves involve primarily are a complete and complex implementation of measures on raising the work, plan and fulfillment discipline, adherence to a strict economizing policy in the utilization of all types of resources and improved work organization.

A management reserve that is complicated to utilize but would yield considerable results is to be found in strengthening the discipline of planning and material-technical supply and the discipline in contractual deliveries. It is known that the main difficulty in this connection is the existence of a vicious circle of so-called "external circumstances" which make it impossible to utilize internal resources directly in economic organizations. For this reason, solution of the entire problem involves the need to provide a balanced plan, guarantee the plan's material-technical supply, sharply increase the importance of fulfilling contractual deliveries within the evaluation of enterprise's activities and finally to mobilize the internal resources of organizations themselves.

Problems of economizing in the utilization of all resources--labor, material and financial ones--are no less acute at present than questions of work and production discipline. This is also determined among other things by a decline in the growth of labor resources in the 1980s, the growth of capital intensity of production of raw materials, fuel and energy and the enormous demand for resources to modernize production in national economic branches. And at the same time, according to general acknowledgment, effective utilization of available resources is still low. Under these conditions it is possible to raise the question of enforcing a stricter resources economizing policy in the national economy and of adopting supplementary organizational-economic measures in addition to those determined by the resolution of CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Intensifying Work in Economizing and Efficiently Utilizing Raw Materials, Fuel and Energy and Other Material Resources."

Perfecting the management forms and methods of normative economy must be one of the main levers of the policy of strict economy of resources. It is necessary to strive everywhere to introduce and strictly adhere to progressive and constantly renewed technical-economic norms and normative regulations. However, in many spheres of the economy, the normative part of the economy is one of the most lagging and poorly organized sections of work. The renewal of normative regulations and norms is progressing slowly, the level of their substantiation is frequently low, and the stimulation system as such evokes little interest among workers in reviewing these norms and normative regulations in the national economy, strengthening of the normative services of ministries, associations and enterprises and introduction of a special strict system of evaluating and controlling implementation of the

renewal policy of normative regulations as well as more complete consideration of technological factors in this work. Special measures should be taken to ensure effective utilization of the resources of which there appears to be the greatest shortage in the economy of the 1980s--the fund of working time.

Yet another major management reserve is closely related to the question of discipline and the system of economizing and this reserve is to be found in really improving the effectiveness of state, departmental and social control over the fulfillment of the adopted decisions. The control function role must be objectively higher in the society with all-people's property and the power of the working people. This was emphasized repeatedly by V. I. Lenin, who attached paramount importance to control as a necessary factor of the country's socialist development.

The preparation of a complex program of perfecting the management mechanism of the national economy places before scientists, specialists and workers of economic and planning organs complex and responsible tasks of finding reserves for and ways of further developing the organization and methods of management of the economy of developed socialism. This work must be guided by the party's directives stipulating that the concrete form of management and planning must correspond to the real conditions at every stage of the country's social development. A comprehensive utilization of management reserves is an inherent component in the process of perfecting our social system.

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## ON COMBINING BRANCH AND TERRITORIAL MANAGEMENT

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[Text] The pivot of the party's economic policy is the aim to increase production efficiency on the basis of intensifying production. However, the transition to the new conditions of economic operations is progressing slowly. What is preventing this transition?

There are a considerable number of reasons. One of the most important was pointed out by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his speech at the February 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. "The system of management of the economy and the whole of our economic mechanism needs to be seriously restructured." In this respect, Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasizes, "one must have the ability not only to set the correct aims, but also to persistently strive to achieve these aims, by overcoming any difficulties. One must realistically assess what has been achieved, without exaggerating, but also without underestimating it."

The main direction of the search for possible solutions is that of generalizing domestic and world experience, and accumulating the knowledge of the best practical workers and scientists with the aim of finding such approaches to perfecting management as would correspond to the objective laws of development of the economic system of socialism and the present material-technical, social and spiritual potential of our country and help us, as Comrade K. U. Chernenko notes, "to resolve a strategically important problem--that of increasing the efficiency of the whole national economy."

In this connection, the question of the necessity to perfect the branch system of managing industry, raised in his article by Prof G. Popov (KOMMUNIST, 1982, No 18), is a timely, and theoretically and practically substantiated one.

Examining these considerations, we consider it possible to continue the analysis of the existing system of management also from the point of view of fulfilling territorial tasks, and primarily from the position of the oblast or kray as the main administrative-territorial units of our country. Being not only administrative units, but also relatively separate territorial

socioeconomic complexes with a developed industry and agricultural production, they possess ramified production and social infrastructures. The oblast (kray) also acts as the territorial basis of the organs of state power and general administration, which are endowed with the corresponding rights. Thus, it is precisely in the oblast (kray) unit that the general tasks of party and state policy are implemented in conformity with particular local characteristics and potentials, and it is here that the fulfillment of general national interests and the utilization of available local reserves for increasing production efficiency and enhancing initiative and enterprise in the field are ensured.

But is the oblast a sufficiently large territorial-administrative and socioeconomic unit for the majority of large-scale economic tasks to be fulfilled within its framework on the basis of utilizing interbranch factors of development of social production and of the increasing of its efficiency?

Do its legal and resource potentials make it possible for the local party, soviet and planning organs to not only perceive well the current economic and sociopolitical processes here, but also to manage them by exerting a direct influence upon the rates of socioeconomic development?

In other words, is the oblast (kray) able within the conditions of the existing system of management to independently fulfill basic national economic and domestic political tasks?

To answer these questions, in our opinion, it is necessary, first, to reveal the contradictions in the development of the branch system of management from the point of view of the tasks facing the territorial organs; second, to analyze the internal logic of the development of territorial (oblast and kray) systems of management since 1965 (for example, in Volgograd Oblast), in particular; and, third, to make some proposals for organizing a complex (territorial-branch) system of management of the economy of developed socialist society.

#### Contradictions in the Development of the Branch System of Management

The practice of socialist economic operations has revealed two principles of the organization of management of the economy: the branch and the territorial. In a pure form neither of them has ever functioned. They have always been combined, but with one or the other predominating. At first, when Soviet Russia was faced with the problems of "organizing the deep economic foundations of life of tens of millions of people in a new way" and of "arranging in a model way a small 'entity'...even a small locality"\*, priority of the territorial principle over the branch one was objectively necessary. Consequently, as early as December 1917, the Supreme Soviet of the National Economy was formed under the auspices of the Council of People's Commissors, and also councils of the national economy in the provinces and districts, which concerned themselves with the problems of organizing management of the national economy and of the state finances.

\* V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 173.



THE ENERGETIC FORMATION OF INDUSTRIAL BRANCHES BEGAN AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 1930S. IT BECAME IMPOSSIBLE TO MANAGE THEM FROM AN INTERBRANCH CENTER: THE PROCESS OF THE SOCIAL DIVISION OF LABOR WAS SO DEEP THAT IT REQUIRED THE ORGANIZATIONAL FORMATION OF SYSTEMS FOR MANAGING THE INDIVIDUAL BRANCHES. IN THIS WAY THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIATS MADE THEIR APPEARANCE, AND LATER BECAME MINISTRIES. THE MINISTRIES STIMULATED THE COLOSSAL GROWTH OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES AND...DEPARTMENTAL SEPARATION. THE NATIONAL ECONOMY WAS DIVIDED "ALONG A VERTICAL LINE" INTO BRANCH "BOXES," BECOMING DIFFERENTIATED ACCORDING TO THE MEASURE OF PRODUCTION GROWTH. THEY BECAME A BRAKE ON INTERBRANCH COOPERATION, THE FIRST CAUSE OF INEFFICIENT UTILIZATION OF RAW MATERIALS AND TRANSPORT AND THE SOURCE OF SERIOUS CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE SOCIAL, SOCIAL-WELFARE AND PRODUCTION-ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF SOCIAL MANAGEMENT.

In the middle of the 1950s the idea was born of territorial production management through the Councils of the National Economy. They essentially brought the centralized economic leadership nearer to production and, at the same time, nearer to the local party and soviet organs and did a great deal to arrange interbranch specialization and production cooperation, but...they worsened the development of industry on a nationwide scale, and particularly in the long-term plan. A multitude of "ferrous metallurgical," "machine building," "chemical industries" and so forth appeared. In a number of cases, specialization was locked within the bounds of the administrative economic rayon and did not yield the proper effect. Duplication occurred in the development of technical equipment. And, the main thing, the effect connected with the vast dimensions of our country and correspondingly with the large-scale scientific-technical policy, and the "boundless nature" of the sales market, was fundamentally weakened. The enlargement of the Councils of the National Economy also did not yield positive results.

In this connection the decision was adopted to September 1965 to return to the branch system of industrial management. This move presupposed that the newly formed ministries, unlike those which existed earlier, would preserve and strengthen useful territorial ties, which were formed during the period when the Councils of the National Economy were functioning. However, this did not happen. The following example will corroborate this.

IN THE 1960S A LARGE CHEMICAL COMBINE WAS BUILT IN A VOLGA CITY WHICH WAS SUPPOSED TO PRODUCE CAR TIRES AND SOME OTHER MANUFACTURED GOODS AS ITS FINAL PRODUCTS. THIS COMBINE INCLUDED THE PLANTS OF ORGANIC SYNTHESIS, SYNTHETIC FIBERS, SYNTHETIC RUBBER, AND MANUFACTURED TECHNICAL RUBBER AND ASBESTOS PRODUCTS AND, NATURALLY, TIRE AND TIRE RESTORATION AND REPAIR PLANTS. GENERAL ENGINEERING NETWORKS WERE FORMED FOR ALL THESE ENTERPRISES, AS WELL AS UNITED SERVICES FOR SUPPLYING THE BASIC PRODUCTION OPERATIONS WITH ENERGY, STEAM, WATER AND OXYGEN. THE COMBINE'S OWN SCIENTIFIC AND PROJECT BASIS ALSO APPEARED: THE ALL-UNION SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND DESIGN-TECHNOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF THE RUBBER INDUSTRY, AND A BRANCH OF THE RUBBER PROJECT INSTITUTE. THE COMBINE HAD A CENTRALIZED TRANSPORT UNIT WITH A RAILROAD WORKSHOP. IT ALSO INCLUDED A REPAIR-MECHANICS PLANT WHICH ENSURED THE CENTRALIZED MANUFACTURE OF NONSTANDARD EQUIPMENT AND THE CARRYING OUT OF MAJOR COMPLETE REPAIRS. IN OTHER WORDS, IT WAS AN INTEGRAL PRODUCTION-ECONOMIC ORGANISM SITUATION IN ONE PRODUCTION AREA, WITH A SMOOTH SYSTEM OF COOPERATION WHICH ENVISAGED PRACTICALLY NO TRANSPORT EXPENSES AND NO RAW MATERIALS WASTE FROM PRODUCTION.

AFTER THE MINISTRIES HAD BEEN FORMED, THERE BEGAN THE "DISTRIBUTION" OF PLANTS TO THE VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS. IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT THE DIRECTORATE OF THE CHEMICAL COMBINE, WHICH PLAYED THE ROLE OF BOTH THE INITIATOR OF ORDERS AND MASTER OF ALL THE SERVICES, WAS ABOLISHED. THE STRICT INSTRUCTIONS TO THE PLANTS TO PROVIDE SERVICES TO ONE ANOTHER REMAINED EMPTY WORDS. CONSEQUENTLY, EVERY INDIVIDUAL ENTERPRISE SET UP ITS OWN TRANSPORT UNIT, ENERGY SUPPLY SERVICES, REPAIR POINTS AND WAREHOUSES AND ERECTED FENCES OF IMPRESSIVE SIZE. IN THE DAYS OF THE CHEMICAL COMBINE, ELECTRIC TROLLEYS WERE USED FOR INTERWORKSHOP TRANSPORTATION. UNDER THE NEW CONDITIONS, HOWEVER, THE TIRE PLANT REQUESTED ITS SUBCONTRACTOR--THE SYNTHETIC RUBBER PLANT SITUATED BEHIND THE NEWLY ERECTED FENCE--TO DELIVER SEMIFINISHED PRODUCTS ONLY IN RAILROAD CARS. IT REQUIRED THE INTERVENTION OF THE CITY AND OBLAST PARTY COMMITTEES TO INTRODUCE THE PROPER ECONOMIC ORDER.

As we see, in practice, the ministry and department leaders do not encourage regional ties, establishing their own branch and even "minibranch" ties instead. How is one to speak then about any interest of theirs in forming, sharing (or analogous to it) interbranch production for tooling, equipping, forging and casting on the territory of the oblast?

The branch management system also does not contribute to the complex utilization of natural resources in the regions. This can be illustrated by the example of the discovery of a unique deposit of bischofite--a most valuable and useful mineral which contains magnesium chloride. Until recently, bischofite was considered an exceptionally rare mineral. In many countries plants have been built which extract magnesium compounds from sea water. They are expensive, production is energy-intensive, but need compels them to be reconciled to this. In our conditions, on the other hand, extracting this salt is not complicated, prime costs are low and, what is more, the salt is of a high quality.

The bischofite deposit successfully combines with other major mineral deposits in Nizhne Povolzhye: almost unlimited reserves of Volgograd potassium salts and the recently discovered Astrakhan gas condensate deposits, which contain gas and sulphur. The chlorine which will be simultaneously obtained with the manufacture of metallurgical magnesium could be processed into scarce organic chlorine products, such as polyvinyl chloride, for example, by utilizing hydrocarbon raw materials from the Astrakhan deposit; and hydrochloric acid, which is the byproduct of the manufacture of pure magnesium oxide, could be processed into scarce phosphorous fertilizers.

However, whereas work in preparing the Astrakhan gas condensate deposits for industrial exploitation is progressing at an accelerated rate, the experimental and experimental-industrial work on the Volgograd bischofite deposit is progressing extremely slowly. And the reason for this is that the departments are not interested in developing and industrially introducing products which cannot be fully utilized within the framework of one branch alone. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry, which has been assigned the task of forming an experimental-industrial brine facility for elaborating the technology of extracting magnesium chloride raw materials, treats bischofite as a problem which it must resolve for others. The consumers, and especially the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and the Ministry

of Nonferrous Metallurgy are biding their time: If they provide the raw materials we will take them, but developing their production is the job of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry.

This problem is also, in fact, an interbranch one. Approaching it from the positions of one department alone is wrong and, what is more, dangerous. First, willingly or unwillingly, even large-tonnage production of products which are most essential to the country can escape the attention of branch developers. Second, this is such a large-scale problem that plans to resolve it will doubtlessly influence the distribution of a number of branches of the national economy, the general plans for the development of which by the year 2000 are being studied at the present time. Third, this problem must be resolved from the position of the effect of this complex upon the possible leveling of development of the productive forces in the Volgograd and Saratov oblasts, the Kalmyk ASSR, and other rayons contiguous to them, in the inter-rayon division of labor. And finally, fourth, ecological problems need to be precisely studied so that, on the one hand, the existing environment in areas where the chemical industry is concentrated can be safeguarded and, on the other, a complex of enterprises ensuring waste-free production can be built. In our opinion, the question must be raised, first, of drawing up an all-union complex program for the exploitation of the mineral deposits in Nizhne Povolzhye (gas, sulphur, potash salts and bischofite) and second, of planning and building a large-scale territorial-production complex in this region.

Appeals by a number of oblasts to make complex use of the resources of Russia's main water artery, the Volga, also do not receive the proper response from the ministries. The problem, which seems simple at first glance, concerning the regulation of the water discharge through the dams of the water engineering systems of the Volga cascade, is not being resolved.

INSUFFICIENT USE IS MADE OF THE VOLGA ALSO AS AN EFFICIENT MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION, THE QUESTION IS NOT ONE OF PASSENGER TRANSPORT, WHOSE TURNOVER INCREASES WITH EVERY YEAR, BUT OF FREIGHT. IT IS STILL RARE TO SEE VESSELS WHICH COULD MOOR AT THE ENTERPRISES OF A CITY OR OBLAST, DELIVER RAW MATERIALS AND FUEL TO THEM AND CARRY AWAY THEIR PRODUCTS. AND THEY DO NOT MOOR BECAUSE THERE ARE NO MOORING FACILITIES: THE INDUSTRIAL MINISTRIES ARE NOT INTERESTED IN BUILDING THEM SINCE THIS WOULD LEAD TO CAPITAL INVESTMENTS BEING DRAWN AWAY FROM THE DEVELOPMENT OF BASIC PRODUCTION.

CONSEQUENTLY, RAILWAY TRAINS RUN ALONGSIDE THE RIVER CARRYING MANY TENS OF THOUSANDS OF METRIC TONS OF ROLLED STEEL AND PIPE, CAR TIRES AND CHEMICAL PRODUCTS, TRACTORS AND OTHER PRODUCTS WHICH COULD JUST AS WELL BE TRANSPORTED BY WATER, FROM VOLGOGRAD AND OTHER CITIES IN THE OBLAST TO THE PRIVOLZHYE INDUSTRIAL CENTERS.

THE ENTIRE TRANSPORT SYSTEM IS ALSO NOT OPTIMALLY LOADED. FIRST, EVEN INTRA-OBLAST AND INTRACITY TRANSPORTATION IS PRIMARILY (ALMOST 90-92 PERCENT) BY ALREADY OVERLOADED RAILWAYS. THERE ARE NO MOORING PLACES FOR WATER TRANSPORT WORKERS, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME MOTOR VEHICLE DRIVERS ARE "RUNNING AWAY" TO INTEROBLAST AND INTERREPUBLIC ROUTES, SO AS TO ACCUMULATE THE NOTORIOUS HIGHER METRIC TON-KILOMETER INDEX. THERE IS NO SUCH LOCAL ECONOMIC MECHANISM AS WOULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO CONTROL THE GOODS TRAFFIC FLOW, AND TO CHOOSE THE

OPTIMUM FORM OF TRANSPORT. THERE IS ALSO EVEN NO SUCH CENTRAL MECHANISM FOR THE VERY SAME REASON--THE INCREASING BRANCH DIFFERENTIATION. SECOND, THE SYSTEM OF ATTACHING SUPPLIERS, A SYSTEM WHICH IS NOW ADVANTAGEOUS TO THE BRANCHES, BUT INEFFICIENT FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF NATIONAL ECONOMIC INTERESTS, ALSO REQUIRES PERFECTING. FOR EXAMPLE, ENTERPRISES IN OUR OBLAST TRANSPORT 120,000 METRIC TONS OF SODIUM CHLORIDE FROM THE UKRAINE ARTEM SALT ENTERPRISES. EVERY YEAR, MORE THAN 1,700 RAILWAY CARS TRAVEL ALMOST 600 KILOMETERS WITH THIS SODIUM CHLORIDE. AND ALL THIS IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT LAKE BASKUNCHAK, WITH THE COUNTRY'S LARGEST BASKUNCHAK SALT ENTERPRISE, LIES IN NEIGHBORING ASTRAKHAN OBLAST. WHAT IS MORE, THE ASTRAKHAN SALT CAN BE BROUGHT TO VOLGOGRAD ALONG THE VOLGA. THERE IS A SPECIALLY EQUIPPED SALT MOORING PLACE FOR THIS.

THE WORST CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE BRANCH AND THE REGION ARE THOSE CONCERNING THE DISTRIBUTION OF CAPITAL INVESTMENTS FOR PRODUCTION PURPOSES ON THE ONE HAND, AND FOR DEVELOPING PRODUCTION AND SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURES AND PROJECTS OF AN ECOLOGICAL NATURE ON THE OTHER. THIS LEADS TO DETERIORATION IN THE SPHERE OF PEOPLE'S HABITATION AND TO LAGGING IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INFRASTRUCTURE, WHICH DISRUPTS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT SOCIOECONOMIC PROPORTIONS OF SOCIALIST EXPANDED REPRODUCTION AND, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, HAS A NEGATIVE EFFECT UPON BASIC PRODUCTION. HOWEVER, IN THEIR PURSUIT OF INSTANT SUCCESSES THE MINISTRIES DO NOT WISH AND, OBVIOUSLY, ARE UNABLE TO SEE THE PROSPECTS THAT TROUBLE THE TERRITORIAL ORGANS.

THUS, WHEN EXAMINING THE PROBLEM OF RECONSTRUCTING THE KRASNYY OKTYABR METALLURGICAL PLANT, THE USSR MINISTRY OF FERROUS METALLURGY GUARANTEED A REDUCTION IN THE POLLUTION OF THE ATMOSPHERE OF HEAVY-DUTY ELECTRICAL STEEL FURNACES. IN ACTUAL FACT, THESE PRODUCTION OPERATIONS ARE ONE OF THE SOURCES OF EMISSION OF HARMFUL SOLID SUBSTANCES INTO THE ATMOSPHERE IN THE CENTRAL PART OF THE CITY, IN THE AREA OF THE SPORTS COMPLEX, AND ALSO OF THE MEMORIAL TO THE HEROES OF THE BATTLE OF STALINGRAD ON MAMAYEVO HILL. THE USSR MINISTRY OF FERROUS METALLURGY SHOULD HAVE IMPLEMENTED MEASURES BY 1982 TO REDUCE THE EMISSION OF HARMFUL SUBSTANCES INTO THE ATMOSPHERE BY THE KRASNYY OKTYABR METALLURGICAL PLANT. AT THE PRESENT TIME, OUT OF A TOTAL OF FIVE PLANNED MEASURES ONLY ONE HAS BEEN FULFILLED. THE BUILDING OF A WATER SUPPLY RECYCLING SYSTEM AT THE PLANT IS ALSO BEING DRAWN OUT FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD OF TIME. THE USSR MINISTRY OF FERROUS METALLURGY DOES NOT ALLOT THE NECESSARY RESOURCES EVEN TO IMPLEMENT THE MOST URGENT MEASURES FOR PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT.

THE OBLAST ALSO HAS SIMILAR MUTUAL RELATIONS WITH THE MAJORITY OF OTHER MINISTRIES, NOT ONLY CONCERNING ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION PROBLEMS, BUT ALSO THE CONSTRUCTION OF HOUSING, PRESCHOOL INSTITUTIONS, HOSPITALS AND PROJECTS OF THE PRODUCTION INFRASTRUCTURE.

This list of complaints against the branches could be continued. But what is involved is obviously not this list, but rather the norms of mutual relations; that is the distinctive "rules of the game" which establish equality or, on the contrary, the inequality of the partners--the branches and the oblasts.

Let us look in this connection at the correlation between what the branches and oblasts have at their disposal, and for what they are responsible within the framework of the existing system of management.

The branch relies upon a rapidly expanding planning and design, scientific research and information basis, and upon the continuous system of the planning organs--from the enterprises to the branch sections of the USSR State Planning Committee. The ministries' plans are of a directive nature and have the necessary financial and material-technical resources. The ministries are assigned capital investments for construction production and nonproduction projects, and they can maneuver them according to the aims determined by the existing system of management. Two of these aims are: to pursue a unified scientific-technical policy and to satisfy social demand for the branch's products.

The oblast is a more complex formation than the branch. Whereas the branch is the sum total of enterprises and production operations which are uniform in the technological respect, the oblast is a complex of the most diverse branches which encompass not only production, but also the distribution, trade and demand for material and spiritual goods and services. Relatively simple technical-production and economic mutual relations exist within the branch. But the regional system of relations embraces both these relations as well as the socioeconomic, everyday living and internal political relations and interdependence. Consequently, the oblast is faced with more complex tasks than the branch. The most important of these tasks is responsibility for the complex socioeconomic development of its territory. This presupposes concern for the reproduction of the population and labor resources, and the formation and functioning of the entire system of material and cultural services, the social and everyday services' infrastructure and the conditions of the people's existence: that is, everything connected with specific concern for a specific human being, his needs and requirements. Another, no less complex task is ensuring a balance between the production-economic, infrastructural and ecological development of the territory. The question is one of rationally utilizing and protecting natural resources, adjusting interbranch interaction and implementing the resultant effect, meeting regional demands for the products of local industry and concern for the development of the production infrastructure.

It is clear that fulfilling these aims can only be successful if, in its relations with the branch system, the oblast does not appear in the role of "supplicant" for material and financial resources. But it is precisely this position in which the local organs find themselves, since the oblasts do not possess sufficient economic levers, or a sufficient financial, material-technical and legal basis. But the ministries, as we have seen, are not and, proceeding from their aims, will not be directly interested in fulfilling social and coordinating tasks. That is precisely why--and this has nothing to do with the ill will of these or those leaders--the ministries do not allot their enterprises a sufficient quantity of resources for the development of production and, what is more, the social infrastructure. The usual and, under the existing rules, substantiated justification they give is the priority of production tasks when there is a shortage of resources. And so it will always be until resources for these purposes are given to those who are both responsible for and interested in using them according to their direct purpose.



Thus, there are a multitude of contradictions within the branch system of management (just as there are within any other system oriented to unilateral priority) which are internally characteristic of it. This was also discussed at the 26th CPSU Congress in the Central Committee's accountability report and in the delegates' speeches.

E. A. Shevardnadze, for example, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, noted that "elements of a certain disproportion have arisen between the development of productive forces and some forms of management and planning on a regional scale," and that "bold experiments in the sphere of planning, management and coordination of the development of the national economy are certainly needed within the rayon and the region." The question must be one of ensuring a balance between the rights and obligations of the partners--the branches and the territorial units.

But how can this balance be achieved? Two ways are proposed. The first is forming such a territorial mechanism of management as would prevent the uncoordinated actions of the ministries within the framework of a given territorial complex, and compensate for the shortcomings of branch management. The second is rejecting the branch system of management as it exists in its present form, as it does not fully meet today's level of the development of productive forces, in favor of a complex (territorial-branch) system, concentrating its attention upon creating optimum conditions for the vital activity of the basic production-consumer cells of socialist society--the enterprises and the associations. Let us examine both of these directions.

#### The Logic of Developing Territorial Systems of Management of Economic and Social Processes

The shortcomings of the branch system of management became evident locally fairly early on. The territorial systems of management formed in the krays and oblasts were a distinctive reaction to these shortcomings and, at the same time, a reflection of the objective requirements resulting from the necessity of managing the economic and social processes taking place in a territory. In Volgograd Oblast, the formation of a territorial system of management of economic and social processes was begun as early as in the 8th Five-Year Plan period. This whole matter was given a special-purpose program direction after the 24th CPSU Congress, at which a course to increase the efficiency of social production was proclaimed.

First of all, there was the question of forming a united organizational-methodological center of the system in the oblast. At the beginning of the 9th Five-Year Plan period this center was the social economic council set up within the framework of the oblast party committee.

Its main task lay in perfecting the management of production on the basis of generalizing advanced Soviet and foreign experience, and in promoting the development of scientific-technical progress and social mutual relations. But not only this. The production-economic activities of enterprises and institutions and the organizational and mass political work of the rayon (city) and primary party and social organizations in spreading advanced experience



and creative initiatives, in organizing businesslike cooperation between production workers and school, scientific research, planning and design institutes and in organizing the economic and technical training of all categories of workers in enterprises, building sites and in other organizations had to be coordinated.

The economic council devoted the closest attention to organizing work in drawing up and implementing complex plans for economic and social development both in enterprises and in associations, and at the level of the administrative rayons, cities and the oblast as a whole.

In Volgograd Oblast the first attempt at planning technical progress and social processes was made as early as 1965.

During the 10th Five-Year Plan period, already all of the oblast's enterprises had elaborated "Long-Term Complex Plans for the Technical-Production and Socioeconomic Development of the Collectives." Contrary to usual technical-industrial-financial plans, on the one hand, and plans for the social development of the collectives, on the other, they aim at fulfilling technical, production, economic and social tasks as being organically and mutually interdependent. During the 11th Five-Year Plan period, these plans became most important component part of the complex systems of managing the increase in production efficiency and quality of work.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMPLEX PLANNING OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENTERPRISES AND ASSOCIATIONS ALSO RAISED WITH OBJECTIVE NECESSITY THE PROBLEM OF EXTENDING THE RANGE OF THIS PLANNING TO THE AREAS OF THE RAYON, THE CITY AND THE OBLAST. IT VERY SOON BECAME CLEAR THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO PLAN AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF THE WORKING PEOPLE AND IN THEIR SOCIAL-CULTURAL SERVICES, AND THAT IT WAS ALSO IMPOSSIBLE TO RESOLVE PROBLEMS OF TRAINING AND RETRAINING THE CADRES, OF REDUCING THEIR TURNOVER, AS WELL AS THE TRANSPORT AND MANY OTHER NO LESS IMPORTANT PROBLEMS, WITHOUT CONSIDERING THE CONDITIONS OF THE PARTICULAR REGION. CONSEQUENTLY, COMPLEX PLANS FOR THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE OBLAST, OF VOLGOGRAD AND OF THE VOLGA REGION WERE ADOPTED AS EARLY IN THE 9TH FIVE-YEAR PLAN. IN THE 10TH FIVE-YEAR PLAN, THESE PLANS WERE ADOPTED BY ALL THE ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS IN VOLGOGRAD OBLAST. AN EXPERIMENTAL TESTING OF THE EFFECT OF SPECIAL-PURPOSE COMPLEX PROGRAMS WAS IN PARALLEL PROGRESS. THEY INDICATED HIGH EFFECTIVENESS. THUS, THE "TERRITORIAL INTERBRANCH PROGRAM FOR PERFECTING MANAGEMENT," WHICH WAS ELABORATED TO COVER THE PERIOD UP TO 1985, WAS THEN INCORPORATED AS ONE OF THE SECTIONS IN THE COMPLEX PLANS OF THE VOLGOGRAD OBLAST FOR THE 1976-1980 AND 1981-85 PERIODS: THE "COMPLEX PROGRAM FOR PERFECTING MANAGEMENT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE AUTOMATED SYSTEM OF INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT" PRODUCED A SAVING OF MORE THAN 10 MILLION RUBLES DURING THE YEARS OF THE 9TH AND 10TH FIVE-YEAR PLANS ALONE: THE "PROGRAM FOR DEVELOPING OIL PRODUCTION" BEGAN TO "BE CONFIRMED" AS EARLY AS IN THE 10TH FIVE-YEAR PLAN BY OPENING NEW OIL SOURCES IN THE OBLAST'S TERRITORY, AND BY THE TASK OF THE SECOND STAGE OF THE PROGRAM--THE PREPARATION OF TYPIFIED OIL RESERVES; THE "COMPLEX SYSTEM FOR IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF PRODUCTION" MADE IT POSSIBLE TO BRING THE SPECIFIC PROPORTION OF PRODUCTS ENTITLED TO THE STATE MARK OF QUALITY UP TO 20.1 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL VOLUME OF GROSS PRODUCTION BY 1984, WHICH EXCEEDS THE ALL-UNION LEVEL BY 4 PERCENT, AND SO FORTH.

AT THE PRESENT TIME, THE TERRITORIAL SYSTEM OF MANAGEMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROCESSES IN THE VOLGOGRAD OBLAST IS ENTERING A NEW STAGE OF ITS DEVELOPMENT. IN OUR OPINION, ITS MOST IMPORTANT COMPONENT PARTS MUST BE:

1. THE MAIN DIRECTIONS OF DEVELOPMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES IN THE VOLGOGRAD OBLAST FOR THE PERIOD 1986-2005;
2. A COMPLEX PLAN FOR THE OBLAST'S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT FOR THE PERIOD 1986-90 AND UP TO 1995;
3. LONG-TERM REGIONAL SPECIAL-PURPOSE COMPLEX PROGRAMS DEMANDING AN INTER-BRANCH APPROACH;
4. TERRITORIAL SYSTEMS OF MANAGEMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROCESSES IN THE OBLAST'S CITIES AND RAYONS;
5. COMPLEX SYSTEMS FOR MANAGING THE INCREASE IN PRODUCTION EFFICIENCY AND THE QUALITY OF WORK OF THE ENTERPRISES AND ASSOCIATIONS.

THUS, THIS SYSTEM ENVISAGES UNITED ADVANCED EXPERIENCE IN TERRITORIAL PLANNING AND REGULARIZING THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROCESSES WHICH HAVE BEEN ACCUMULATED IN VARIOUS REGIONS OF OUR COUNTRY.

Obviously, such a path for fulfilling the tasks of economic development is typical of the majority of krays and oblasts in the Russian Federation and the Ukrainian SSR.

What is characteristic of this path? First, the natural striving of the leaders of the local party organs to respond with concrete acts to the historical decisions of the party's Central Committee on reorienting the economy to an intensive path of development. Second, the attempt to create more perfect forms of territorial management in the conditions of the effect of the branch system of management so as to unite and coordinate the activities of the subdivisions of the various departments in fulfilling not only economic, but also social, social and everyday service, and internal political tasks. And finally, third (and this is the main thing), to make the workers of the local organs understand that, to achieve the aims of communist construction set by the party, it is not only necessary to intervene in the regulation of the economic and social processes in the territory within their jurisdiction, but also to actively direct these processes, while striving to level off the negative effects of departmentalism in the national economic structure.

But can the aims which have been set be achieved? To answer this question we will examine just one, most important function of management--planning. The opinion is that the main purpose of territorial planning in the branch system of management is to continue the process of plan studies while relying on branch projections and ensuring that specific regional problems are resolved. In this connection, the experience of elaborating plans for the complex development of industry and of other branches of the economy in Sverdlovsk and Sverdlovsk Oblast for the 1971-75 and 1976-80 periods is of interest. Their

main indicators, which are linked with 23 union and 92 union-republic departments, have been confirmed by the USSR State Planning Committee. In this way, the city and the oblast have been placed in the best conditions in comparison to the majority of territorial units. But even in this case fundamental shortcomings have come to light. First, the indicators of the complex plan are not of a directive nature and that is why the union-republic ministries, whose enterprises are located on the oblast's territory, do not feel obliged to fulfill them. All this makes it impossible to organize efficient territorial cooperation within the territory and to demand responsibility for nonfulfillment of territorial plans. Second, a corresponding organizational apparatus is necessary to implement a complex plan. But interdepartmental territorial organs, such as the oblast, city and rayon planning commissions are few and are unable to fulfill the tasks they face. For example, there are no planning commissions in the Volgograd rayons. These commissions are represented by one or two specialists in the medium-size and small cities, and in the rural rayons. Even our practice of attracting, on the basis of social principles, the scientific-technical community and the scientific and school institutions to this task cannot resolve the problem. All this means that the very detailed plans which are prepared with great effort, but for which special-purpose resources are not ensured and which it is not compulsory to fulfill, are not sufficiently effective.

Finally, let us take the ideal situation, when the plans for all oblasts and krays are given a separate entry in the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR, as is already the case with such regions as Moscow, Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast, Krasnoyarsk Kray and Sverdlovsk and Sverdlovsk Oblast.

Then, quantity could become a quality that is not completely necessary: more than 170 territorial plans would have to be coordinated and linked up with approximately the same number of departmental plans along all parameters. In our opinion, this idea is basically unrealizable.

But experience of elaborating territorial systems of management also shows that the problem of coordinating the branch and territorial aspects will not be resolved by perfecting the territorial aspects of planning alone. The plan creates a possibility which, with the help of the organs of operative management that are fulfilling two other most important functions of management (organizing production and efficiently guiding the course of plan fulfillment), still has to be turned into reality.

So why are coordinating organs not formed? We will examine the history of the problem. Coordination was also not achieved in the time of the regional economic councils. At that time branch state committees were formed with the aim of organizing branch coordination. However, lacking the corresponding base, these committees became an unnecessary superstructure, and the task set for them remained unfulfilled. After 1965, planning commissions for the economic rayons were formed for the purpose of coordinating decisions on their territories. But even the commissions turned out to be not up to the task. Taking this into account, some specialists propose forming regional bureaus of the USSR Council of Ministers, or coordinating councils composed of leaders or governments in the autonomous republics and the oblispolkoms.

In our opinion, this also would change nothing. The shortcomings of all these (basically social) organs lie in the fact that they have no real authority based by financial and material resources. They can make proposals and recommendations and give advice, but they cannot direct. The economic departments of the local soviets also will not resolve the problem: they have more than enough of their own tasks, and the number of these tasks has immeasurably increased with the broadening of the soviet's rights stipulated by the new USSR Constitution and by subsequent party and government decisions.

Thus, neither "social" coordinating organs nor "social" territorial systems (in spite of all the positive things that they have done and do) are able to compensate for the shortcomings of ministerial administration, which are connected with their resolving territorial problems uncharacteristic of them. "The experience of many years shows," wrote V. I. Dolgikh as early as 1970, "that the functioning of a 'purely' branch or a 'purely' territorial administrative system in practice leads to sharp contradictions in a unified system of the social division of labor, and holds back the development of production." The society of developed socialism needs a new and adequate system of management.

#### Some Proposals for Organizing a Complex (Territorial-Branch) System of Management

Among the features which characterize developed socialism, one can note effective management. What are its determining features? The most important is its complex nature. The experience of building socialism in our country has shown that both the territorial and the branch aspects of management have their advantages and shortcomings. Each of these aspects has been connected with the objective conditions necessary to the corresponding period of development. In a mature socialist society the system of management for the first time must not give priority either to one or the other aspect. The new level of development of production forces and social relations demands in a sense the equality of the territory and the branch. The key link in resolving this problem is to bring the aims of the territorial units and ministries, on the one hand, in accord with the resources (legal, financial and material-technical) provided for them, on the other.

The branch must be given resources for ensuring the production of products necessary to society, and for pursuing a unified scientific-technical policy. It will also partially fulfill social tasks such as improving working conditions and ensuring work safety, eliminating physically heavy and nonprestigious tasks, and so forth. However, the main part of resources for social needs, primarily for developing the nonproduction sphere and the social and production infrastructures, and for environmental protection, must be given to the territorial-production-economic organs, the prototype of which can be the territorial interbranch associations formed experimentally in the city of Poti in the Georgian SSR.

Another aspect of this problem concerns the optimum sizes of the branch and territorial formations. The above-mentioned article by G. Popov discusses the fact that today's ministries are unable to fulfill the aims which are objectively inherent in the branch formations, let alone being able to ensure

the fulfillment of territorial tasks that are not assigned to them. Having analyzed the internal logic of the development of the ministries, the author of the article proposes, while leaving to the ministries the functions of routine leadership of the enterprises (functions characteristic of all-union industrial associations (AIO), the creation of supraministerial organs that would be able to direct not reduced, but real "basic branches of industry" (for example, such as the fuel and energy, machine building and chemical complexes) and that consequently would be able to "raise and resolve major problems of scientific-technical progress and of ensuring complete satisfaction of demand for the particular branch's products in a real way within a few five-year plans."

This is a proposal that corresponds to the spirit of a complex system of management. But the branch and the territory are unified. They are the "warp" and the "weft," the two component threads of any organizational mechanism. If we enlarge the branches, then we must enlarge the territorial formations too. Both one and the other are objectively necessary.

AS FAR AS THE OPTIMUM SIZE OF THE TERRITORIAL FORMATIONS IS CONCERNED, IT IS PROMPTED BY THE PRACTICE OF NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLANNING. ALL PLANNING STUDIES IN OUR COUNTRY ARE CONDUCTED ACCORDING TO ECONOMIC RAYONS. THERE ARE 11 OF THESE RAYONS IN OUR REPUBLIC. THERE ARE PROPOSALS TO FORM ANOTHER SIX OR SEVEN RAYONS, WHICH WOULD BE THE OPTIMUM NUMBER FOR THE EXISTING LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES. THIS KIND OF REORGANIZATION WILL MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE A COORDINATION OF THE ECONOMIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION OF THE TERRITORY. BUT IT WILL ONLY BE SUCCESSFUL OF THE NUMBER OF LEVELS OF MANAGEMENT DOES NOT INCREASE (WITH A SIMULTANEOUS REDUCTION IN THE APPARATUS), AND IF THE ENTIRE SYSTEM OF EXISTING ORGANS OF MANAGEMENT--PARTY, SOVIET AND ECONOMIC--BEGINS FUNCTIONING WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE NEW TERRITORIAL FORMATIONS.

The effectiveness of a complex (territorial-branch) system of management also lies in implementing the advantages of two dialectically opposed principles: integration and self-management. It is with this aim that the branch and territorial formations must open up their "borders" to one another, by ensuring scope for the fulfillment of the functions characteristic of the partner, on the one hand, and enjoying complete independence in the fulfillment of its own tasks, on the other. In practice, this will be reflected in the fact that each branch will be responsible to the state only for the corresponding level of scientific-technical development and for the final types of products (for each branch). All the rest falls within its authority.

In their turn, the large territorial formations (oblasts or krays) will be responsible for creating more or less identical living (material and spiritual) conditions for the population, and for the necessary level of services for the enterprises subordinate to the branches. The way in which they dispose of the resources allotted for these purposes falls within the field of their jurisdiction.

The decision conditions of ensuring the effectiveness of a complex system of management is the new status of the enterprise (the production association). The fact of the matter is that in a developed society the enterprises and

associations are changing more and more from being production-economic mono-systems into multisystem complexes which are not only the main and primary unit of the national economy, but also the most important one, being directly responsible for resolving extremely complex ecological, moral, internal political, social and scientific-technical problems. And that is why, to achieve their aims, both the branch and the territorial organs must "turn and face" the enterprise, being rewarded by its profit depending upon the ensuring of the production and infrastructure conditions for its vital activity.

Of course, the proposed variation of perfecting the existing system of management is not the only one but, it seems to us, that it takes into account the particular features of the present stage of development of socialist society, and that it proceeds from the thesis expressed by Comrade K. U. Chernenko that "things must be organized in such a way that the state economic organs direct all their efforts toward resolving the problems that are really of key significance to the country. Some of their present concerns can well be assumed fully by the lower-level organizations, whether they are branch or local ones... Developing economic initiative and creativity on the levels of the economic regions, associations and enterprises is one of the most important and, precisely, general state tasks."

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## SHORTANDY THEATER OF OPERATIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 84 (signed to press 5 Mar 84) pp 59-68

[Article by A. Tikhtyar']

[Text] It was 30 years ago, on 2 March 1954, that the CPSU Central Committee Plenum passed the decree "On Further Increasing Grain Production in the Country and Developing Virgin and Fallow Lands." The Soviet people were set a task unprecedented in terms of world agriculture practices: to develop and put into economic circulation the tremendous land resources of the eastern parts of the country within a short time.

The development of the virgin and fallow lands was a natural step in the implementation of the Leninist agrarian policy. Thousands upon thousands of patriots adopted this program of tremendous scale as their own. To this day, 3 decades later, the exploit of the Soviet people appears particularly impressive: about 42 million hectares of newly developed land yielded and are yielding abundant harvests. Kazakhstan alone, which averaged sales of no more than 1.8 million tons of grain per year at the beginning of the 1960s, began to average 16.3 million per year during the 10th Five-Year Plan. Even during the past 3 years, which were exceptionally adverse, some 42 million tons of Kazakhstan grain were poured into the granaries of the homeland.

These results could have been substantially more modest had the virgin land workers not been helped by the scientists from the All-Union Scientific Research Grain Institute, which is located in Shortandy not far from Tselinograd. This unremarkable low-storied town in the steppe became a cradle of a new strategy for steppe farming. It was precisely here in the once-barren steppe that, through the efforts of the grain growers, agronomists and scientists, the soil protection farming system was born. The battles which were fought at the Shortandy theater of operations led to the defeat of the worst enemy of the virgin land upturned--wind erosion.

### Steppe Farming Headquarters

Today more than 20 million hectares are cultivated in Kazakhstan "the Shortandy way." In the Soviet Union at large--in the Altay, Western Siberia, the Southern Urals, beyond the Volga, in the northern Caucasus and the southern steppes of the Ukraine--soil protection farming methods cover an area of approximately 49 million hectares. Each hectare cultivated the Shortandy way yields from 3 to 4 additional quintals of grain.

But why is it that precisely Shortandy was chosen as the location of the general staff for steppe agriculture? VASKHNIL Academician Aleksandr Ivanovich Barayev, director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Grain Farming, pulled out his notebook after being asked this question.

"Agriculture is above all a local matter: improvements within it are based on the struggle against local obstacles, the assessment of which 'from a splendid distance' can only lead to errors. Their study 'while passing through' is equally underproductive," the academician read and, closing the book, concluded: These are the words of agronomist A. D. Izmail'skiy, a noted expert in steppe farming in the 19th century...

This is the answer. Indeed, the area of the Shortandy theater of operations offers a broad variety of "local obstacles" typical of all risk farming areas.

The steppe climate presents a number of unpleasant surprises. In May and, sometimes, even in June, a frost may hit the shoots. The precipitation norm here ranges from 200 to 350 millimeters annually. The plants can only barely withstand this. The trouble is that during the summer more moisture evaporates than falls and unless the rain can compensate for the growing shortage on time, a drought sets in.

Drought, frost, hail, early autumn rain and snow are the most threatening of the obstacles which defeat the plans of the people who grow grain in the steppe. As to windless days, according to the weather forecasters of the Shortandy meteorological station, they have not exceeded 50.

A great deal has been written on the subject of the "green fires"--the weeds which block the wheat--and about the black storms which sweep off from the face of the earth the fertile stratum. Although consultants traveled from sovkhoz to sovkhoz giving excellent advice as they passed by, wild oats covered the fields more and more densely. Desk-bound agricultural experts sent excellent recommendations from their "splendid distance." Meanwhile, wind erosion pursued its sinister work.

The steppe was saved by scientists from the Shortandy Institute. Reference publications, the "Soviet Encyclopedic Dictionary" in particular, inform us that the All-Union Scientific Research Grain Crops Institute was created in 1956. This is not entirely accurate. In 1956 the agricultural experimental station, which had been founded 20 years earlier, was promoted to the rank of scientific research institute. Not the least important role in this metamorphosis was played by Valentin Petrovich Kuz'min, the "Shortandy magician," as the peasants called him.

I remember once walking along a birch-lined alley with this quite old and stately person whom time had not bent. This tall old man, who walked with the bearing of a guardsman, was very fond of his birches. They were his, for he himself had planted and nursed them.

"According to the dictionary, 'a steppe is a treeless space.' Don't trust the dictionaries, young man," he said, smiling. At that time, in 1964,

Valentin Petrovich Kuz'min was already past 70. He was almost 30 when he gave up geological work in the Tayga and turned to botany.

"Not because of a bent for it but because of practical difficulties," he claimed. If we were to believe him, Kuz'min became a selectioneer by pure accident and totally unexpectedly to himself.

"The irony of the table of organization," he laughed. "The position was 'selectioneer.' And once you have been appointed a selectioneer, what can you do?... You must work in selection."

This occurred in 1937. Kuz'min was already past 40. He had landed at the Shortandy railroad station the previous year, in the summer of 1936, when another station--the experimental agricultural one--had opened here. That same station which, as we mentioned, was to become a scientific research institute 20 years later. Understandably, this ordinary farm station did not become the headquarters of steppe farming by waving a magic wand. Nor did Kuz'min have such a wand. All he had was a pair of horses--Sivka and Koryukha. Kuz'min hitched them to a plow and from dawn to dusk plowed experimental plots in the virgin land. He personally planted various types of wheat, for initially this was precisely the name of his job--"seed tester."

The assignment Kuz'min received from the All-Union Institute of Applied Botany and new crops was to determine the wheat strains suitable for farming in the north Caucasian steppe.

Vavilov and Kuz'min

The All-Union Institute of Applied Botany and New Crops.... There was at that time such a scientific institute, one of a kind and the only one in the world, which subsequently became the VIR--the All-Union Scientific Research Crop Growing Institute imeni N. I. Vavilov.

The institute was created through the efforts of Nikolay Ivanovich Vavilov, the founder of applied botany or, in simpler terms of the theory of cultured plants. Vavilov formulated the main task as follows: "To harness the vegetation capital of the world and to concentrate within the USSR the entire strain reserve of seeds developed in the course of millennia by nature and man." This was a unique task, as unique as Vavilov's institute.

Envoys of the Applied Botany Institute traveled and mostly walked across all of Asia--Minor, Middle, Central, Eastern, and Anterior; they traveled across both Americas, North Africa, Ethiopia, Japan, Korea and China. Actually, all geographic zones the cultured flora of which was of interest and, above all, the centers of ancient agriculture, were studied most thoroughly.

The result was a collection of seeds unequalled in the world in terms of dimensions and value--25,000 different types of wheat, about 20,000 types of leguminous crops, more than 6,000 varieties of melons and 10,000 varieties of vegetables.... This was a unique collection of seeds!

The most important thing which should be particularly emphasized was that all of these were not dead exhibits but living seeds. Vavilov organized his amazing collection not at all for the sake of putting the seeds in various little boxes.

The selection of farm crops grown in Russia was rather poor and the choice of strains extremely limited. Vavilov intended to invest the plant capital of the globe in socialist agriculture so that, used in crop rotation, in the final account this capital would benefit all humankind.

A scientific experiment was undertaken, the scope of which was hard to imagine, for the study of this global collection of seeds was undertaken throughout the union. Institute specialists made their own selections for each soil-climatic zone. The plants which were included were to be tested under natural conditions and what part of Vavilov's treasure box could be used was to be determined experimentally. The answer to the question rested with the strain testers, people such as Kuz'min.

His task was to test under conditions of drought and frost samples of collected plants which, according to the scientists, could adapt to northern Kazakhstan. Particular attention was to be paid to grain crops and, among them, to wheat.

Kuz'min planted dozens of wheat strains--hard and soft, spring and winter. The result of the all experiments was the same--disappointment. The winter crops froze, the spring crops were burned up by the sun, and if a strain proved to be drought-resistant, it was unable to withstand the violent winds.

Kuz'min had great hopes for the so-called Dakota and Kansas strains. We are using the expression "so-called" not by accident. The point is that these strains had originated in Russia. The manner in which Russian hard wheat strains--"Kubanka," "Arnautka," "Garnovka" and "Pererodka" had crossed the ocean and become naturalized in the United States could be the subject of a separate essay. We shall limit ourselves to a brief summary.

#### In Russia for Grain

... In 1898 Mark Carlton, a Kansas agronomist, decided to "look for grain for America." The decision was dictated by noble reasons--the desire to get his compatriots out of trouble.

The trouble was that the fields of the farmers in the Midwest were periodically devastated by a terrible calamity--drought. The farmers were ruined by the thousands. However, since the Midwest was the main grain producer for America, the consequences immediately affected the rest of the country.

"America has no native drought-resistant wheat strains, and that is the root of the evil," Carlton noted. Not having its own strains, suitable strains had to be found in the Old World.

Soil and climate maps informed the American agronomist that the prairies of the Midwest had a twin: the Russian steppes, which spread between the Volga

and the Irtysh. The soil was equally fertile and the enemies which blocked the fertility of the earth were the same: summer drought, winter frost, and unrestrained year-round winds.

Therefore, if a wheat existed which could feel at home on the great North American plains, it could be found only in Russia. So, Carlton went to Russia. How did this "travel for grain for America" end?

Here are two conclusions by American experts:

"The new wheat which Mr. Carlton has brought from Russia and which he calls 'Pererodka,' is helping Dakota farmers to average 8 bushels of grain per acre more than the 'Reed Pipe' and 'Blue Stem'--the best of the old strains."

"Carlton has performed a real miracle: The 'Kubanka' and 'Arnaudka' strains he brought from Russia have superbly withstood the strongest possible drought and, despite exceptionally adverse conditions, the farmers who used these strains in their fields averaged 30 bushels of grain per acre whereas the other strains yielded no more than 2 to 8 bushels."

Such were the conclusions of the experts. They sounded like victory reports.

Inspired by his success, Carlton went to Russia once again in 1900. Once again he did not return empty-handed. Through his efforts the seed stock of the United States was enriched with the addition of a frost-resistant strain of hard winter wheat. Carlton found this winter wheat in Kharkov Guberniya, in the steppe not far from Starobelsk, for which reason he named it "Red Kharkov." This new strain as well suited the farmers.

By 1907 farmers in Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Nevada, Oklahoma and Montana were using only Russian wheat strains, above all the Kubanka, which was proclaimed spring wheat No 1 at the 1914 Agricultural Exhibition. That same year one-half of the American crop of hard winter wheat came from the "Red Kharkov."

Now the strains "reemigrated" to their country of origin. Kuz'min expected a great deal from them. However, his expectations were not justified. The frost-resistant "Red Kharkov" froze the very first winter. No, it was not killed by the frost.

"It was killed by the snowstorms which blew the snow off the fields," Kuz'min recalls. "A person does not fear the cold if he is dressed warmly. In that sense the winter crops are like people...."

The Dakota "Kubanka," which needed a minimum of precipitation, indeed withstood the heat better than the other strains. This was an unquestionable plus. However, Kuz'min detected two minuses as well. The first was the excessively long vegetation period as a result of which, having survived the drought, the crop could perish from the frosts. Secondly, the "Kubanka" grain was very difficult to thresh. Why grow grain which would grow into chaff?...

One failure followed another, urging Kuz'min to adopt the only possible solution: the steppe zone in Kazakhstan needed its own strains, resistant to autumn frosts and summer droughts, ripening before the autumn chills and yielding stable harvests even during the worst seasons.

Since no existing strains met such requirements they had to be created through hybridization and selection.

#### The Steppe Academician

Kuz'min knew that nonexistent strains would not appear by themselves. But how could he create them lacking both experience and specialized knowledge?

"I attended a school for commerce and then a mining institute. But then World War I began and I volunteered for the front. Then there was the revolution and once again a war, the civil war. And then it so happened that as a person without any specific knowledge I found myself in agriculture," says Valentin Petrovich Kuz'min, Hero of Socialist Labor, laureate of the USSR State Prize and VASKHNIL academician.

Kuz'min added to the variety of farm crops 40 new strains which feel at home in the extreme conditions of Northern Kazakhstan. It was not only a question of developing them, which is no rare accomplishment, or obtaining authorship certificates; 29 of Kuz'min's strains became what is known as "working" and 17 of them passed the state zoning test and were extensively applied in the northern part of Kazakhstan and the Orenburg and Ural areas.

Long is the list of crops developed by this selectioneer! Ten strains of soft wheats, four hard strains, the "Snegurochka" hybrid of winter and spring wheat and the "Zima" winter wheat. Kuz'min also developed strains for buckwheat, peas, sunflower, oats, barley, potatoes and even hemp. The hemp was developed by Kuz'min to meet personal needs.

"It was during the war," Kuz'min says. "My Sivka and Koryukha were left without harnesses. Their old harnesses had torn off and no materials were available to make others.... So, I had to develop a special strain of steppe hemp which was used in harnessmaking...."

Let me add that Kuz'min did not abandon his strain testing. As a loyal student of Vavilov, to the very end of his days he worked on acclimatizing strains arriving from distant countries and foreign lands. The scientist proved that in the hard conditions of the steppe the sovkhoses and kolkhoses could very profitably grow sorghum, leguminous crops, peavine, Chinese radishes, chickpeas, lentils, safflower and dozens of other valuable crops.

"I have a broad view of things and I am not the only living grain selection worker," he laughed, patting with his callused farmer's hand the smooth stem of a birch which would not have existed here had not a person with the very Russian name of Kuz'min come here, to the Kazakh steppe. Valentin Petrovich Kuz'min is the first academician of the steppe.



Mal'tsev and Barayev

Kuz'min had answered the question of what could grow in the steppe. However, the question of how to plant needed an answer. All the details of the new farming system which would reliably protect the soil from wind erosion and the fields from weeds and at the same time guarantee high stable crops, had to be developed.

Since time immemorial the words "farmer" and "tiller" had been considered synonymous by the linguists. The term "grain grower" has been equated with "tiller." Naturally, in this case seniority assigns the first place to the term "plowman."

However, approximately from the mid-1960s, for the first time in Northern Kazakhstan and, subsequently, in some other grain-producing areas in the Soviet Union with similar natural conditions, slowly a new farming system began to develop. It was at that point that who was who became clear. Farmers and tillers who had been peacefully coexisting in the dictionary as synonymous became irreconcilable antagonists in real life.

Generally speaking, the farmers are forgiving people. However, they will long remember the black storms which raged over the plowed steppe. In 1965 they destroyed the crops on an area of no less than 5 million hectares in Northern Kazakhstan alone.

The most disheartening fact was that by that time the Shortandy grain farming institute had already developed in all its detail a farming system which made it possible to make compatible something that appeared incompatible: to grow grain without destroying the fertile chernozem stratum.

Following are the basic elements of this thoroughly conceived system: crop rotation, fallow land, shallow cultivation and optimal sowing time. These four elements were the four cornerstones. Take away one and the entire system would collapse. Yet we also read and heard that all it took was the shallow cultivation of the soil and "the revolution in farming would be made." No, a revolution cannot be made so simply.

A new system was being developed through the joint effort of practical farmers and scientists--a large VNIIZKh collective headed by Aleksandr Ivanovich Barayev, today an academician and at that time a candidate of agricultural sciences.

"Remember that our system did not appear in a vacuum," Academician Barayev points out on every suitable occasion. "Do not forget Terentiy Semenovich Mal'tsev and his requirement that grain crops must be planted after the stubble, alternating with non-mouldboard plowing."

Are these Mal'tsev's methods for soil cultivation and sowing? Why did Mal'tsev have to "invent" his own agrotechnical complex and, given the existence of the plow, to invent a "deep plow"--the plow of the age of the scientific and technical revolution?

The question of "what?" and "why" cannot be immediately answered without a description, although a brief one, of why Terentiy Semenovich was forced to declare war on deep plowing and, therefore, to commonly accepted agrotechnology.

Shadrinskiy Rayon in Kurgan Oblast has been an agricultural area for quite some time. And, since Shadrinsk is not far from the Kazakhstan border, it is self-evident that the natural-climatic conditions in the rayon are not too different from those of Kazakhstan: the same type of treeless steppe, the same type of temperature differences, the same scarcity of summer precipitation and the same difficulties which, however, became apparent much sooner, for here the virgin land steppe was plowed up significantly earlier.

According to economist L. A. Zolotarev "the damage which the wild oats caused the crops was so great in Shadrinskiy Uyezd that many peasants were forced to abandon their fields and move to other guberniyas." This was written in 1898. However, for a long time the peasants who grew grain in the steppes were unable to deal with the wild oats, with the "green werewolf," with this most terrible of all enemies of cultured crops grown in the wild virgin land.

Maltsevo village is located in Shadrinskiy Rayon. It is the center of Zavety Lenina, a millionaire kolkhoz. One of its residents is kolkhoz agronomist Terentiy Semenovich Mal'tsev, the person to whom the kolkhoz "owes" its wealth.

What is the connection between agronomist Mal'tsev and the millions earned by the kolkhoz? The same as between clean grain and net profit: the fewer the weeds the cleaner the grain and the better the crop the higher the net profit. The kolkhoz fields were cleaned of weeds thanks to the application of an agrotechnical set of steps developed by Mal'tsev, quite simple as anything brilliant often is.

Simply described, essentially Mal'tsev's grain-growing system is as follows:

No mouldboard plowing, for the steppe chernozems should be disturbed as little as possible. Otherwise the fertile stratum would lose its lumpy structure and a stronger wind would blow off the plowed-up stratum. This means that the soil must only be loosened up, without breaking up the stubble. The stubble would protect the field from the wind and thus protect the soil from erosion.

Sow directly on the stubble but sow without haste: wait for the weeds to show up and destroy them.

The time of the sowing varies from year to year. Therefore, be guided by the weather and sow during the optimal period. Naturally, however, remember crop rotation and use of fallow lands.

And that is all, spoken simply and briefly.

The farmers in the steppe oblasts realized the advantages of Mal'tsev's agricultural system immediately. They became apparent not to the farmers in our

country alone. Canadian and American farmers also applied Mal'tsev's method of sowing on the stubble. Starting with the 1960s Mal'stev's method has been extensively used in the United States with no mention made of its author. In the United States it was described as "minimal cultivation" or "cultivation with a view to the protection and sensible utilization of the soil."

But let us return from overseas to Maltsevo village in the steppe. Starting in the mid-1950s, i.e., immediately after the development of the virgin lands was undertaken, virgin land people began to come to Mal'tsev for advice and experience.

An all-union conference of agricultural scientists and specialists was held at the Zavety Lenina Kolkhoz in August 1954. One of the speakers was A. I. Barayev, at that time head of the Kazakh Institute of Farming.

"The studies made by Terentiy Semenovich Mal'tsev and the results already obtained justify the extensive application of the new soil conservation system not only in Kurgan Oblast but in oblasts with different soil and climatic conditions," he said, expressing the opinion of a number of Kazakh scientists and practical agronomists. "Our scientific institutions will take the necessary steps to develop for each oblast specific rules based on the theoretical concepts of Terentiy Semenovich Mal'tsev."

Aleksandr Ivanovich Barayev, today Hero of Socialist Labor and Lenin Prize laureate, together with a group of like-thinking people and supporters, spent many years at work before he could honestly say that "we have a soil-protecting farming system!" The Shortandy system borrowed everything of value found in the Mal'tsev farming system.

#### Soil Protection Formula

The VNIIZKh scientists developed a soil-protecting farming system, precisely a system, i.e., an overall set of interrelated and interacting elements. Furthermore, something quite important, they introduced the "soil protection formula" which makes it possible precisely to determine the extent to which the soil is threatened by erosion. This formula, metaphorically speaking, allows a scientific diagnosis of the soil. And, as we know, neither treatment nor prevention are possible without diagnosis.

However, diagnosis alone cannot cure; treatment is also needed. However, the dissemination of a soil-protecting farming system was hindered by a purely technical difficulty: no antierosion equipment was available for farming the steppe. All the virgin land farmers had at their disposal were Mal'tsev's "deep cultivators." To begin with, however, very few of them were being manufactured; secondly, their worst feature was that together with the weeds they also destroyed half of the stubble.

In general, there were virtually no effective antierosion technical facilities. What kind of soil protection system was that without soil-protecting machinery?

On the basis of the "soil protection formula," Aleksandr Ivanovich Barayev, Ervin Frantsevich Gossen and Aleksandra Alekseyevna Zaytseva determined the agrotechnical requirements which the future antierosion machinery had to meet. They wondered if the designers would undertake the project. A machine was needed to uproot the weeds but, at the same time, deal carefully with the stubble, i.e., to operate selectively. Furthermore, since it was to be an antierosion machine, it should not destroy the soil structure and, consequently, it should be light, as though flying in the air. Could such designs be developed?

The designers developed them. In less than 10 years, based on VNIIZKh recommendations, subsurface deep cultivators were designed which could protect 85 to 90 percent of the stubble; subsurface cultivators were designed which evenly applied fertilizers within the cultivated soil; soil-protecting sowing cultivators were developed which performed four operations simultaneously: presowing cultivation, sowing, application of granulated fertilizers and compacting the rows.

All of these were not only designed but produced in series.

VASKHNIL held its 1966 session in Tselinograd. The scientists passed the unanimous resolution recommending to all farms in Northern Kazakhstan and the steppe areas of Siberia to convert to the soil protection farming system developed at the Shortandy grain farming institute.

The leading news agencies in the world treated this information as a sensation. Comments differed. According to anti-Soviet propagandists "soil protection farming was the last card in the risky game with untamed elements." Serious commentators described it as an "example worthy of emulation" and "an experiment which should be applied on a broad scale."

Today anyone dealing with problems of protecting and rescuing the soil is familiar with Shortandy, this small city in the steppe. People come to Shortandy for consultations; antierosion tools are sent to Shortandy for expert assessment; dozens of agricultural delegations from many parts of the Soviet Union and from abroad come to Shortandy.

Foreign agrarian specialists closely study the work of the Shortandy scientists and its results, clearly presented on the "testing grounds" of the VNIIZKh--the fields of the experimental farm. This farm is huge, totaling 42,000 hectares, 25,000 of which are planted in grain crops.

The visitors write their comments in the institute's guest book. I read it. Its thickness is impressive. The comments are in many languages--Hindu, English, Swedish, Mongolian, French and American--by people who speak and write in different languages but who understand the language of the heavy stalks and live side by side in friendship and accord between the book's covers.

Here is one such entry made by GDR delegates: "Sooner or later the day will come when mankind will finally say 'we conquered hunger!' and VNIIZKh scientists will deserve great credit for this victory over hunger."

Is a conclusion not premature?

The reliability of the soil protection system, which was developed and regulated at the Shortandy theater of operations, was tested in practical farming. Its prophylactic and treatment effectiveness is confirmed by the healed fields and the crops. On one occasion Hero of Socialist Labor M. Ye. Dovzhik, one of the most experienced grain growers in the virgin lands, said the following:

"See the tall wheat? The land itself is voting for the Shortandy system!"

Mikhail Yegorovich Dovzhik is a cautious person, one of those who would try personally anything new before accepting it. And once scientific developments benefit from the support and approval of such people--rated professional farmers to whom a "grain field" and a "field of activity" are identical concepts, this becomes the strongest of arguments in favor of the soil protection system and the most convincing proof of its viability and expediency.

All of this is unquestionable, as unquestionable as the fact that by virtue of its main "healing" function, so to say, the Shortandy system should not hinder any sensible initiative or creative thinking on the part of the "treating physician"--the agronomist. Naturally, it is the best possible recommendation, but any system, even one which has been thoroughly substantiated scientifically, is bound, sooner or later, to skid if everything in it is subjected to petty regulations. There is no reason to hope that the system would prove itself and that the soil will become more fertile and the stalks fuller and the crops richer despite everything. In other words, that the system would be working and we would be harvesting the fruits.

No, the soil protection farming system is not a panacea against all farming difficulties and is in no case a universal miraculous method applicable to any type of soil-climatic zone. It is applicable only in the steppe and, within the steppe, in areas threatened by erosion.

Yet... "initially recommended for Northern Kazakhstan, the soil protection farming system proved to be universal, applicable in all steppe parts of the country threatened with erosion."

This categorial statement comes from the booklet by V. Gundarev and G. Roshchin "Glavnyy Agronom Tseliny" [The Chief Virgin Land Agronomist], which was published by Izdatel'stvo Kaynar in Alma-Ata, and which describes the life and work of Academician A. I. Barayev.

Publications have appeared in recent years according to which the Shortandy system is almost pitted against Mal'tsev's and presented as universal and most perfect and, therefore, something which is being particularly emphasized, "not one of its elements should be ignored."

It is thus that a specific system of local application is converted by the journalists into a peak agronomical accomplishment.

This is precisely what V. Gundarev and G. Roshchin write: "... Barayev's name is linked to victory over wind erosion and a soil protecting farming system which proved itself over the vast territory of the country. This system is frequently known as Barayev's; frequent mention is also made of Barayev's scientific school, which was not simply an upturn in grain growing but a real revolution in domestic farming."

And so, this is a "victory," an "upturn" and a "real revolution," although we are still very far away from a total victory over wind erosion and, actually, an upturn in grain growing. Our fatherland does not consist only of a steppe risk farming zone. Furthermore, a revolution in farming--a real revolution even more so--is a matter for the future.

The cry from the heart is "we have already gone through this, comrades!..." Remember, for example, the grass-tillage system. Remember the hullabaloo with which it was originally proclaimed as "the most advanced, including everything best developed by Russian agriculture and the Russian science of farming." Later on...later on it was classified as "notorious," and the supporters of the grass-tillage system were treated so severely that not even seeds were left. The result is that the country does not have a single agricultural institute to train specialists in grass tilling and meadow cultivation. Yet the implementation of the Food Program requires both hay fields and cultured meadows.

It would be very regrettable if the same were to be repeated with the soil protection system. In order to prevent this it should be considered neither universal nor miraculous.

Nor should we hasten to use words such as "real revolution in domestic farming." A great variety of soil-climatic areas and zones exist in our fatherland. Each one of them requires its own farming system based on its specifics and local conditions. To this purpose, however, each zone must have its own "theater of operations." By creating such strong points and resolving other vital agricultural problems the scientists will make a worthy contribution to the implementation of the Food Program.

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## WAY TO THE UNITY OF GENERAL EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOLS

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[Article by Prof Yu. Borisov, doctor of historical sciences]

[Text] "Before engaging in labor activities all young people will be offered the opportunity of mastering a profession. In the future this will bring closer and unify general education and vocational schools..."

From the CPSU Central Committee draft "Basic Directions in the Reform of the General Education and Vocational Schools."

The task formulated in the CPSU Central Committee draft school reform of supplementing general secondary education with universal vocational training in the course of one or two five-year periods is of a programmatic nature. It is a question of a new feature in the social aspect of the Soviet person and creating one of the essential conditions for resolving basic problems such as the elimination of social heterogeneity and surmounting the major disparities between mental and physical work. It is thus that the development of public education as an instrument for shaping the new person completes the huge cycle which constitutes an entire epoch of systematically expanding the content and upgrading the level of universal education.

The Great October Revolution laid the beginning of this cycle. The second party program, which was drafted with V. I. Lenin's direct participation, substantiated the still-inviolable principles of a socialist public education system: universal accessibility and continuity of levels (thus excluding privileged and dead-end schools), state and laic nature (which eliminated private schools and the churches' direct influence on the training and education system adopted by society), polytechnical training, the tie between education and life and so on. In defining the social functions of education, the party program emphasized both the immediate and the then-distant tasks which are currently being resolved: "... Completing the conversion of the school from a tool for bourgeois class domination into a tool for the full elimination of the division of the society into classes and into a tool for the communist reorganization of society, started with the 1917 October Revolution." Major practical steps leading to this objective included "free and mandatory general and polytechnical education (which would teach the theory and practice of all main production sectors) for all children of both sexes under the age of 17...and the extensive development of vocational training

for individuals over 17 related to general polytechnical knowledge" ("KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh S"yezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences and Central Committee Plenums]. Volume 2, Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, pp 81-82).

Therefore, a course of developing both basic and previously almost entirely separate directions in training--general education and vocational--was charted. The essentially new features here were not only the rejection of early specialization and thus determination of the sequence of the types of education (first general and then vocational) but the establishment of a single nucleus--polytechnical training.

However, the practical application of the principles of polytechnical education was and remains a difficult matter. This was precisely because, as practical experience indicates, our public education had frequently slid back into the channel of durable traditions: the general education school separated itself from practical training while vocational schools remained strictly technical ("craft"). Furthermore, we were not able immediately to abandon early specialization. Universal general education training could be applied only gradually, starting with the lower grades. During the early stages of building socialism people without completed secondary education joined the production process. Their vocational training was acquired in lower-grade vocational technical schools which could not substantially add to their general education. All of this also hindered the process of elimination of socioclass disparities. Under those circumstances the general educational and vocational schools became--and occasionally remain to this day--competing systems of different prestige in the eyes of the students.

A great deal has been accomplished in the area of public education under the Soviet system. By the beginning of the 1980s the schools reached the final stage of universal general education: secondary education became universal. However, the requirements facing the schools were substantially enhanced as well, as was convincingly mentioned at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "...The party is seeing to it that in our country the person is trained not simply as the bearer of a certain sum of knowledge but, above all, as a citizen of the socialist society, an active builder of communism with specific ideological concepts, morality and interests and high labor and behavioral standards." This meant that the effectiveness of the labor training of young people had to be increased above all. "The students must develop love for the work. The force of productive labor must be fully included in the education process. This is one of the most important tasks of education," noted Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, in his 2 March 1984 speech to the voters of the Kuybyshev Electoral District.

The CPSU Central Committee draft earmarks a set of steps to enhance the legal, military-patriotic, economic, moral and aesthetic education. In this connection the need for the elaboration and application of unified interdisciplinary curriculums has long become necessary (in addition to the curriculums for individual subjects). We should also take more fully into consideration the experience of the higher schools in planning educational

work with the students and efficiently determine the tasks and directions of such activities for the individual training grades with a demarcation of responsibilities among educators, teachers of different subjects, public organizations, school administrations and, possibly, sponsoring organizations. It would be expedient to include such considerations in a separate item in the third part of the draft (between points 11 and 12, for example).

The tasks of improving youth vocational training, stipulated in the CPSU Central Committee draft are also of exceptional importance. Here again, unresolved problems have developed along with useful experience. After the general education school, initially as the consumer of that part of its "output" which was not subject to a complete training system, the vocational school itself soon felt the need for a deep internal reorganization. Even before the war it had schools which provided not only specialized training but a generally incomplete secondary education. The PTU [vocational training schools] which provided general full secondary training as well, began to multiply starting in the 1960s. Currently some 5,000 such schools exist, attended by 2.4 million people or more than 50 percent of the overall number of PTU students. In the course of the reform all current varieties of PTU will be converted into uniform secondary vocational technical schools with departments based on the type of training and training time (depending on the educational level of the new students). Therefore, for the first time in the history of public education, the objectives and content of vocational and general training will come closer to each other.

A countermovement is steadily developing within the general education school as well. Above all it is related to strengthening the labor training of the students. Unlike prerevolutionary schools, from the very beginning the Soviet schools were developed as labor schools in the broad and humanistic meaning of the term: from the viewpoint of training method (development of independent thinking), on the level of the specific study of ways and means of labor (labor training per se), and in connection with developing in the students a spirit of respect for labor and formulating the principles of internal organization of all aspects of collective life. One of the very first state documents of great topical significance is characteristic in this respect: the RSFSR People's Commissariat of Education declaration "Basic Principles of the Unified Labor School," dated 16 October 1918. It considers work by the students the most important element in polytechnical education and in shaping comprehensively developed people: "The objective of the labor school is not in the least that of teaching one craft or another but providing a polytechnical education which will give to the children practical familiarity with the methods used in all most important forms of labor, some of it in school workshops or farms, some in factories and plants and so on." The students' work, the purpose of which is first of all pedagogical, was planned in a way to parallel the gradually increasing complexity of their real participation in the country's economic life. The All-Union Central Executive Committee Regulation on the School, which was passed at that time, emphasized that student work should be considered "not as a means of paying for the maintenance of the children and not only as a training method but specifically as productive, socially necessary work." As such it was to become "the foundation of school life" ("Narodnoye Obrazovaniye v SSSR"

[Public Education in the USSR]. Collection of Documents, 1917, 1973. Moscow, 1974, p 139; "Dekrety Sovetskoy Vlasti" [Decrees of the Soviet System]. Volume III, Moscow, 1964, p 376).

The continuing discussions on this subject have focused on the extent to which polytechnical training in general education schools could be paralleled and rounded up by giving the students a specific vocational training in one subject or another. A variety of answers were given. It was precisely this which determined the essence of all previous public education reforms. Their comparative analysis is important today in order to prevent possible faults in the forthcoming reorganization. Let us briefly characterize the nature of the discussions manifested in the repeated reorganizations of the education system.

Initially, after the revolution, the leadership of the RSFSR People's Commissariat of Education, while defending the principles of polytechnical training, underestimated not only labor training in general education schools but the vocational-technical education system as well. This led to the unjustified closing down of lower vocational technical schools. However, another extreme became apparent then: the heads of the Ukrainian SSR People's Commissariat of Education, the RSFSR Main Vocational Education Administration and some trade unions demanded earlier (as of the age of 12) specialization and essentially tried to eliminate the general educational levels above the primary schools. Both extremes were criticized by Lenin at the very beginning of the 1920s in N. K. Krupskaya's theses on polytechnical education and in the Central Committee directives to party members working for the People's Commissariat of Education. Lenin emphasized that the grave economic circumstances demanded at that time a temporary lowering of the age level for vocational specialization and the conversion of the second level of general education schools into vocational schools. "This is extremely important. We are poor. We need carpenters and fitters immediately. Unconditionally. Everyone must become a carpenter, a fitter, etc., but with a certain minimum general education and polytechnical addition" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works, vol 42, p 230).

The core of the reorganization was the word "but" which Lenin had singled out. In practice, however, this was occasionally forgotten, which led to the inevitable waves of converse reorganizations in the course of which the opposite error was sometimes made: the underestimating of the labor training of students. A similar situation developed in the general education schools between the end of the 1920s and beginning of the 1930s and toward the end of the 1950s. The only distinction was that previously the supporters of early single technical specialization in training openly opposed polytechnical education. Thus, O. Yu. Schmidt, chairman of the RSFSR Main Vocational Education Administration, claimed in 1920 that "the concept of polytechnical development is essentially erroneous, for the education and development of the working person must be based on a specific, specialized type of work" (TsGAOR SSSR [USSR Central State Archives of the October Revolution], File 5451, list 4, case 6, p 21).

After Lenin's critical remarks the development of strict vocational training in general education schools took place, strange though it might be, under

the banner of "true" and "real" polytechnical training. By 1930 this had resulted in a grave shortage of technical cadres, drastic intensification of strict production emphasis in seven-grade general education schools and an attempt to eliminate (convert to technical schools) the senior grades of secondary general education schools. The situation was corrected and the tasks of the vocational and general education schools were demarcated following the intervention of the party's Central Committee. In subsequent decades, however, another departure developed at first imperceptibly within the general education school away from polytechnical education: the significance of labor training and upbringing was minimized.

The 1958 public education reform was imbued with the spirit of their restoration and development. The senior grades of secondary general education schools, which had become eleven-grade schools, were reorganized as "secondary general education labor polytechnical schools with production training." However, as was the case 30 years previously, a slant was allowed toward narrow specialization which, furthermore, in frequent cases was formal. No more than 5-7 percent of graduates of secondary education schools practiced their acquired production skills.

Reality proved the need for more thorough and comprehensive preparations for turning the schools to intensified labor training: a significant reinforcement of material and technical facilities, choice and training of teachers, development of methods, coordination of areas of production training with national economic requirements in the individual areas and so on. Naturally, this demanded time. However, it did not justify in the least the comprehensive withdrawal of general education schools from production training starting with 1964, although during the preceding years many schools had favorable conditions for such training. In most areas (other than the Baltic republics) the schools returned to 10th-grade training.

However, objective economic requirements and the communist upbringing of young people dictated the need to improve the labor training of general education school graduates. During the 1970s vocational guidance developed more extensively. Interscholastic training-production combines were established. Currently 99 percent of full-time secondary general education schools in the country offer labor training. In itself, however, this does not resolve the problem. Although as a whole the influx of secondary school graduates into the national economy has increased, only slightly over 20 percent of graduates either work or pursue their studies in accordance with their acquired labor training. Therefore, so far such training remains largely formal.

Naturally, the CPSU Central Committee draft calls for quality improvements in the public education system both with the help of additional capital investments and a considerable increase in the time needed for labor training and socially useful productive work by the students. In my view, bearing in mind the lessons of the past and the current shortcomings in labor training, item 21 of the draft should conclude as follows: "The public education bodies must totally uproot formalism in labor training, vocational guidance and production qualifications of general education school graduates."



The CPSU Central Committee draft stipulates measures which will meet the growing needs of general education and vocational schools for pedagogists, educators and vocational training instructors. It includes the stipulation of "developing engineering-pedagogical training." In this connection as well it would be useful to turn to past experience: at the beginning of the 1930s the country had a number of independent industrial-pedagogical and agricultural-pedagogical institutes in which pedagogy, general education and production disciplines were studied on the basis of specific ratios. This allowed the students to acquire the skills needed for work in vocational schools. It is obvious that today the number of faculties which were recently opened at some pedagogical VUZs for training labor teachers and production training instructors are quite insufficient.

The history of public education cautions not only against one-sided deviations from labor training or, conversely, neglect of the study of the foundations of fundamental and, particularly, humanitarian sciences. It also proves that a living organism such as the school will reject "eternal" statutes. The realization of this truth should facilitate the task of forecasting future changes in education.

At the present stage we must combine extensive basic training with a substantive study of specific worker skills. This is particularly clear in the light of the objective patterns of public education which is revealed through historical analysis. The experience of the past proves repeated changes in school development in two cycles: initially narrowing the applied aspect of education and, after a while, its broadening and comprehensive use, which offer more extensive opportunities for the practical application of acquired knowledge. It would be simplistic to consider the reasons for school reforms only in terms of the errors in the structure of the public education system at each previous stage. The real roots are deeper: they lie in the interdependence between school and production, economics and spiritual culture in the course of their progressive development.

Thus, for example, it is already becoming clear that automation through machines is not the peak of production but merely the final stage in the cycle of development of "classical mechanics." A new cycle is beginning: the development of qualitatively new labor tools based not only on the utilization of mechanical technology but on essentially new technologies--magnetic, beam, radiation--i.e., on their nonmechanical aspects. Naturally, this will increasingly dictate its demands to the public education system.

The specific-historical study of the dependence between the schools and the economy helps us to note a certain repetitiveness: the generalization of education, characteristic of a production system mastered by society, is replaced by a relatively narrow specialization which rules the relatively new areas of human activity until they also become integrated in the more general system of knowledge which calls for elevating the entire public education system to a new degree of general training. Since the sequence of this change is economically predetermined, we can improve the content of education with greater awareness and timeliness. It is a question of the need periodically to improve curriculums, i.e., to refine the set of disciplines and time



allocated for the study of each one of them. Such ratios cannot be permanent although they should not be subjected to frequent and subjective break-ups. In order for the school and the production process to walk hand in hand we must seek the measure of combining basic with specialized training optimal for each individual stage. This is a general requirement of the education system--from the school to the VUZ and the training of scientific cadres.

Obviously, if the arguments brought forth here are convincing, it would be expedient to note in the final part of the school reform document that since the purpose of public education is to prepare the people for life with an anticipation of its future condition, we must always keep in mind in the future the need to change the current combination of basic and applied knowledge.

It is precisely this that opens the way to the truly programmatic prospect of rapprochement and, in the future, also merger between general education and vocational schools, earmarked in the CPSU Central Committee draft. This will represent a further development of the basic Leninist ideas of polytechnical education.

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## SCHOOL REFORM: PROBLEMS OF PEDAGOGICAL THEORY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 84 (signed to press 5 Mar 84) pp 75-79

[Article by Ye. Gassel', N. Pakhomov and V. Severtsev]

[Text] The implementation of a vast program for improving public education, as earmarked in the CPSU Central Committee draft "Basic Directions in the Reform of the General Educational and Vocational School," calls for the further development of pedagogical theory as one of the primary tasks. The implementation of a new, broader approach to the work of the schools, the need for which is indicated in the draft, demands the intensified knowledge of the basic laws governing the training and education processes and the determination of the social role and function of education under the conditions of a developed socialist society. It is precisely on such central problems that today scientists, method workers, theoreticians and organizers in public education must concentrate their efforts. It is in this direction as well that progressive practical experience, which is an important source of development of pedagogical theory, must be accumulated and selected.

The building of developed socialism in the USSR is marked by major accomplishments in the public education system in terms of the implementation of the programmatic objective of building communism: molding the new person. However, it would be premature to consider that the schools are already now fully embodying this historical objective. A great deal of criticism has been aimed at the schools, related to the mediocre quality of education they provide and the still unsatisfactory level of the ideological-political, moral, aesthetic, labor and physical education of the students. Nevertheless, the main criticism of schoolwork is concentrated today not only on the gaps in the education of the alumnae but on the problem of reaching a qualitatively higher level of social maturity of the young people, their adoption of the constructive ideals and values of our society and shaping in the young people beginning an independent life the ability and aspiration actively to work for the common good.

This problem was reemphasized at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. In pointing out what the party sees as negative phenomena in youth circles, in his report at the plenum Comrade K. U. Chernenko singled out a delayed civic maturity and the political naivete of some young people and an unwillingness to work wherever such work is needed by society. The decree which was passed stipulated the need "systematically to implement the Leninist principles of the unified, labor and polytechnical school and to develop in

the students the habit of and love for socially useful labor, to expand their ideological outlook and shape above all in every student the high qualities of the citizen of a socialist society and the active builder of communism."

Therefore, the plenum's documents do not merely describe the situation but earmark the high road to the advancement of public education. As it develops along this path, the Soviet school must ensure the final conversion from a school merely for the purpose of "mastering knowledge" to a school of life, a school of thinking, a school of active social action which must shape the individual so that he may be ready to enter directly and fully socially productive labor and to become part of the social relations of mature socialism.

This is the essence of the school reform under preparation and its ideological-theoretical core and practical sense. Also related to the solution of this basic problem is the elimination of all other negative phenomena and major shortcomings and omissions in school activities as indicated in the CPSU Central Committee draft, for manifestations of formalism in the content and methods of training and education work, grading the knowledge of the students, significant overloading in pedagogical and school work, elements of excessive regulation and other "sensitive" problems in this public education unit are determined to a decisive extent precisely by the fact that the school is frequently considered merely as a means of saturating the individual with acquired information and knowledge. In our view, the main reason for a certain alienation of the school from life and from social practice is found precisely in this primarily academic, one could say descriptive-edifying orientation of the existing training and education system.

Obviously, it would be improper to accuse of such shortcomings the school alone. The solid academic organization of education, which was developed in the past, could be classified rather as one of the advantages of the school. However, the point is that today the entire social educational environment has changed radically. Whereas previously people spent a limited amount of time in the school and, after maturing as individuals outside it, within the thick of life itself, sought and found in training institutions above all a source for adding to their intellectual baggage, today the functions of involving the individual with life have shifted primarily to the realm of education. It is entirely legitimate, therefore, that the contemporary school is increasingly encompassing within itself the functions of the socialization of the individual, i.e., his participation in the system of social relations and social practices at large. In turn, this means that traditional academic training must be replaced by a qualitatively new training-educational system which can model and reproduce in the realm of education the true wealth of ties and relations among individuals in a developed socialist society.

Let us emphasize that it is a question precisely of a radical reorganization of the educational and training system rather than partial new developments. Experience teaches us that enhancing the level of the school to a new qualitative standard cannot be ensured by simple "additions" or improvements in the existing training and education system. This is confirmed, among others, by the fate of a number of new pedagogical developments which took place in

recent years to traditional school practices. Let us recall the failed attempt to apply a theoretical-multiple approach to the teaching of mathematics. Another typical example was the attempt to introduce in secondary general education schools more advanced organizational forms of labor and polytechnical training including elements of specialization and production practice. These new forms were either unable to adapt themselves to the traditional classroom-lesson teaching system or else failed to yield anticipated educational results.

A radical reorganization of the training-education system requires a deeper knowledge of the social function of the school under the conditions of a developed socialism society. This is one of the main tasks of pedagogical theory which must offer the school specific recommendations on the means to resolve the problem of socialization of the young generations.

How is contemporary pedagogical thinking approaching the study of the inter-relationship between school and society? Pedagogical research--which is one of the gains of our pedagogy--analyzes from various sides the demand which society makes on the Soviet individual. This demand, as a rule, is directly transferred into a didactic plan in which it is converted to requirements concerning the content, methods and forms of training and education work. As a result, the overall interaction between the school and the social system is localized primarily in the training-education process only. The widespread relations and thousands of ties which link the school to the family, industry and basic social institutions, the cultural and ideological life of society and the mass information media are reduced merely to a single principle: re-working socialist demands in terms of training and education requirements. For example, our school reacted to the increased delinquency among adolescents above all by introducing the teaching of the foundations of Soviet law, energizing explanatory work and applying other measures of primarily didactic nature. The main thing, however, was shunted aside: mastering the entire set of real social and sociopsychological factors which cause the delinquent behavior of adolescents.

The interpretation of the situation which has developed in our pedagogy and the study of the approaches which dominate it lead us by analogy to the familiar mechanistic concept of the "social order." Frequently the interaction between education and society is still interpreted as a kind of "automatic reaction" on the part of the school to a specific "demand" on the part of society. Within the framework of this approach the dialectical variety of ties between school and society becomes substantially simplified. Educational practice becomes something passive without internal tension and aspiration to develop.

In our view, the view of the school as an integral social institution, whose nature is brought to life in social relations which develop on the occasion and the process of molding the personality, is an alternative to this approach. In turn, this requires above all the development of a broader approach to the subject of the science of education. It must be based on a comprehensive consideration of the entire system of relations between public education and society as a whole and on the interpretation of the legitimate nature of such ties.

It would be pertinent to recall that the class Soviet pedagogical tradition, which is based on the works of founders of Marxism-Leninism, has always given priority to the social base in education. We have in mind some of its outstanding representatives, such as M. I. Galinin and N. K. Krupskaya. Everyone is familiar with the profound and comprehensive concept of the school as an integral social organism--A. S. Makarenko's theory of the role of the collective in the education process, the unity between educational and socioconstructive activities and the social nature of the teacher-student relationship. "The collective of our pupils," he wrote, "is not only a gathering of young people but above all a nucleus of the socialist society with the same characteristics, rights and obligations as any other collective in the land of the soviets" (A. S. Makarenko, "Pedagogicheskiye Sochineniya" [Works on Pedagogy]. In eight volumes. Volume I. Moscow, 1983, pp 176-177). Makarenko emphasized that the systems-forming elements of the collective are the joint activities of its members: "A collective can exist only if it unites people on the basis of activities which are of clear use to the entire Soviet society" (ibid., p 176). Classical Marxist-Leninist pedagogy, therefore, has closely come to a consideration of the process of socialization of the individual as the subject and method of pedagogical science.

We must admit, however, that the ideological and theoretical wealth gained in the field of classical pedagogy has still not been fully mastered by contemporary pedagogical theory, which usually considers the theory of socialization of the individual merely as paralleling didactics and the theory of education. Furthermore, concepts related to the socializing function of education are developed primarily outside pedagogy, as part of sociophilosophical research which, in terms of content and purpose, is quite distant from planning specific new developments aimed at improving the training and education process. We see a certain gap between social and pedagogical theory, which hinders the development and pursuit of a scientific education policy. One of the most topical tasks of education methodology in the light of the school reform is the elimination of this gap.

Being an indivisible component of social life, education brings to light its nature as a specific form of spiritual production or, more precisely, as its main sector, the most important function of which is "the reproduction of the spiritual structure of the individual and the shaping of its constructive capabilities and objectives" (A. P. Belik, "Sotsial'naya Forma Dvizheniya. Yavleniya i Sushchnost'" [The Social Form of Dynamics. Phenomena and Essence]. Moscow, 1982, p 154). This function has been implemented with all historical types of education. However, it is inherent in its highest degree in education under socialism. For whereas in class antagonistic social systems the molding of the person was and is secured above all as the bearer of one-sided sociolabor qualities ("the partial person," as Marx said), with the creation of a classless society education in the broadest meaning of the term, can and must mold "comprehensively developed and comprehensively trained people" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works, vol 31, p 33]). This purpose is reflected in the programmatic stipulation of the CPSU on educating a comprehensively and harmoniously developed individual and is the base of the planned school reform.

Molding the person as the main productive force of society has priority in resolving this problem. One of the basic requirements which pedagogical theory must fulfill in this connection is the need to combine studies related to problems of labor education and training within a single methodological channel consistent with the basic stipulations of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of upbringing and education. For it is no secret that a great variety of different viewpoints hide behind the classical and universally accepted concept of the Soviet school as a labor school. Frequently this concept is reduced to the organization of the labor activities of the students within the framework of the old system of training and education, whether it applies to work lessons, training in school workshops, and so on. This view has a certain substantiation: actually, initial labor skills can be acquired by the children almost exclusively in the course of games or special lessons. The full training for labor activeness must blend with labor itself. That is why Marx openly mentioned the participation of students in productive labor: "We consider the trend of the contemporary industry to involve children and adolescents of both sexes in the great cause of public production a progressive, healthy and legitimate trend..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 16, p 197). He also said that "combining paid productive labor with mental education, physical exercises and polytechnical training will raise the working class to a significantly higher level than the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie" (ibid., p 198).

In developing Marx's idea, Lenin emphasized that the school of the future would be simply inconceivable without combining education with productive labor. This is a scientific manual for action in the area of public education. However, the implementation of the ideas of Marx and Lenin demanded a long period of time and intensive research. The fact that the Soviet higher and secondary specialized schools had developed forms of combining training with productive labor, which had proved their usefulness in these units of the educational system as early as the 1930s (bearing in mind above all the production practice of future specialists, currently enriched with a number of new forms of linking schools with the industry), vocational-technical training was subjected to recurrent forms of artisanship by students, while the general education school has still not become free from elements of academic training in labor instruction. That is why the CPSU Central Committee draft reemphasizes the problem of preparing young people for work by strengthening the classical Marxist-Leninist formulation of the problem of combining training with productive labor. It concretizes it in terms of the conditions of a developed socialist society. From labor classes in the school to labor lessons in the real production process and from labor as an element of the training and education system to labor as the foundation and the all-embracing principle of schoolwork is the road leading to resolving the problem of combining education with productive labor. The school must tirelessly encourage the entire training and education of the young generations to assume the nature of an integral, tangible labor lesson which asserts labor as the principal means of self-expression and self-realization of the individual in life.

The social qualities, skills and abilities of an individual comprehensively trained for labor, expressed in the sociopolitical and practical production



activities of the people, presumes a rich inner world within every member of society. Actually, the realm of education, starting with Descartes, John Locke and Ya. Komenskiy, has always aimed at shaping the inner world of the individual, considering the quality of his "structural material" above all the specifically systematized and didactically organized knowledge. Without minimizing the role of knowledge in the development of the new person, Marxism-Leninism called for the intellectual development of the individual combined with a revolutionary outlook. Lenin emphasized that the socialist school must not only ensure the mastery of the wealth of human culture by the new generations but must be a school for communist morality. Therefore, the education system must not only provide the young people with a specific cultural and scientific baggage but develop in them a highly moral, a value attitude toward the world.

Another one of the most important tasks in pedagogical thinking and of the public education system is to develop ways of exposing the individual to the spiritual culture of the socialist society. We must take into consideration that the intensifying process of accumulation of new data substantially changes the nature of the traditional nucleus of scientific training. The responsibility of public education for shaping a revolutionary outlook in the growing generations, who are entering conscious life unaware from personal experience of the severe trials of the class struggle and the war, has increased substantially. Perhaps we should also revise the concept of the scientific content of education and the arsenal of means used in the conceptual upbringing of the new person. In particular, the need for universal scientific training and its further orientation toward the basic principles and achievements of science, technology and artistic culture, is unquestionable. It is also clear that the cognitive aspect of education must be more closely linked and blended with the value aspects, ensuring their active impact on molding the ideological-political and moral convictions of the individual and the development of his civic qualities. In our view, in resolving this problem pedagogical theory and practice are still unable to surmount a kind of "barrier" between "learning" on the one hand and an involvement with spiritual values, on the other. Everyone knows, for example, the contradiction between the teaching of literature in school as a set of systems which allegedly shed light on the social and aesthetic nature of the literary process, and involvement with literature as an inspiring means of grasping reality.

Our school must lay the foundations for the steady development of the individual and his climbing the steps of knowledge and reorganization of the world in the direction of the historical process of advancing developed socialism directed by the party. This as well makes it necessary to make corrections to the existing understanding of the subject of pedagogy, which can no longer remain merely a science dealing with the "school period" in the education and training of the person.

To sum it up, let us formulate the suggestion that the main directions to be followed in the development of research in the field of education be determined in combination with the basic trends of the reform.

We also believe that representatives of the various areas of knowledge should participate more actively in the study of education and the formulation of ways for its development. In order to join efforts, the pedagogical scientists must substantially expand the concepts on the methodology of their science on the basis of the social theory of Marxism-Leninism and the interpretation of the role of pedagogy and the school itself in the process of the advancement of developed socialism. "The task of the new pedagogy," Lenin pointed out, "is to link teaching activities with the tasks of the socialist organization of society" (op. cit., vol 36, p 420). The Soviet school reform must provide a contemporary solution to this problem.

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A MATTER AFFECTING THE INTERESTS OF THE ENTIRE PEOPLE

AU290600 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 84 (signed to press 5 Mar 84)  
pp 79-89

[Editorial. Capitalized passages published in italics in source]

[Text] The Soviet people, representatives of all strata of our society, and workers in all branches of material and intellectual production are discussing the CPSU Central Committee's draft "Main Directions in the Reform of General Educational and Vocational Schools" with great interest. The principled significance of this document for the future of our country and for its economic and social progress is obvious. Comprehensively improving the overall activity of training and educating the younger generation is an organic part of the integral concept of the CPSU's long-term ideological activity.

The nationwide discussion of the CPSU Central Committee's draft is a characteristic manifestation of our system's democracy. KOMMUNIST's mail is just one of the channels through which the working people make observations and proposals. All sectors of the party, soviet and economic apparatus and of mass social organizations, creative unions and scientific institutes are involved in a broad exchange of opinions. Soviet people perceive the CPSU Central Committee's draft as an answer to the pressing need to comprehensively perfect the system and structure of the people's education, to improve the process of training and educating the young generation, to overcome formalism in organizing training and educational work and in evaluating a teacher's work and the students' knowledge and to combine training with productive labor.

Readers' responses to the CPSU Central Committee's draft "Main Directions in the Reform of General Educational and Vocational Schools" clearly express their awareness of this document's great social and political importance. The document's elaboration of the complex problem meets the vital socioeconomic interests of the Soviet people.

The school reform will contribute to effectively implementing the Soviet constitutional right to education, to reaching new frontiers in the historical contest between socialism and capitalism, to further developing the country's material-technical basis and culture and to strengthening its defense capability. Party leadership of our schools and the tireless concern of the CPSU and the socialist state for their further flourishing, for strengthening their ties with life and production, and for increasing the number of teachers, as well as concern for teachers' work and everyday life are our schools' guarantee of success.

"We are proud of our schools," writes communist YA. POLYARUSH, a mechanic at the Donbass electric power industry repair enterprise at the Slavyansk state regional electric power plant. "They are one of the notable achievements of socialism. Our multinational people have progressed from mass illiteracy to the level of general secondary education of youth in the shortest possible historical time frame. The state system of vocational-technical education is a source of systematic training of highly skilled working cadres. I do not even have to mention the extensive development of higher and secondary special education which is available to everyone. Knowledge is strength. And every aware worker well understands this. It is no accident that Lenin emphasized: 'The working people are drawn toward knowledge because it is necessary for their victory.' And reading the CPSU Central Committee's draft today, we would like to express our gratitude to the party for its concern over the further development of schooling. Schools are a component part of the struggle socialism is waging in the historical arena and to which each of us contributes a small share at his work place."

This and other readers' letters testify to the fact that the CPSU Central Committee has raised the question of school reform in good time. Progressive socioeconomic changes in the country, perfecting the technological basis of social production under the influence of the scientific-technical revolution, the general rise in the population's cultural level, and the aggravated international situation--all this places new demands on the growing generation. Besides this, in recent years the central and local press has published a number of critical articles as a result of dissatisfaction with the substance of the training and educational process, with the weak ties between schools and pedagogical science and life, and mainly with the fact that the education system is only slowly fulfilling the directive of the 26th CPSU Congress on correcting the existing situation.

We read in a letter from R. BOGOMOLOVA, a primary teacher at Moscow School No 52, that teachers have been impatiently awaiting draft reform. "Its appearance in the press gave us general satisfaction...We are particularly pleased by the clear trend to further increase the authority and prestige of our profession. The CPSU's concern inspires us to still more energetic work. What I find exceptionally valuable are the draft's ideas and principles that forming a CITIZEN of socialist society is the most important aspect of all the activity of the school collective. It is precisely at this that all elements of the training and education process and the whole of school life must aim..."

The authority of knowledge and culture and of honest labor for the good of society is high in our country. Socialism expands the social meaning of education: It is not just acquiring knowledge and skills at school but also forming the new man--an active builder of communism possessing the ideological aims, morals, interests and high standards of labor and conduct characteristic of him. The historically new and broader approach to all tasks of the Soviet school is also determined by this. Virtually every one of these tasks not only ensures some aspect or other of the individual's formation but also is a factor in further confirming socialist civilization, deepening its roots and broadening its horizons. That is why lecturer O. KOROBEYNIKOV,

candidate of economic sciences and dean of the faculty of organizers of industrial production and construction of the Gorkiy V. P. Chkalov engineering and construction institute, suggests that point 3 of the first section should begin: "Implementing the reform of general education and vocational schools means resolving the following basic tasks:

"ACHIEVING UNITY OF THE FORMATION AND COMPREHENSIVE CIVIC EDUCATION OF THE ACTIVE BUILDER OF COMMUNISM WITH THE IDEOLOGICAL AIMS, MORALS, INTERESTS AND HIGH STANDARDS OF WORK AND CONDUCT CHARACTERISTIC OF HIM."

Cardinal changes in general education and vocational schools do not signify a simple and crude substitution of the old with the new. Complying with Lenin's behests, the party has always warned against one-sidedness, extremes and exaggerations in social practice as well as against simplifying and vulgarizing innovations with "bald negations." The CPSU Central Committee draft once again points out that everything of value which has been achieved by the work of several generations of teachers, the Soviet school and pedagogical science, and everything that has stood the test of time must be carefully preserved and actively utilized. S. YAROVOV, engineer and instrument maker and member of the CPSU since 1928, subscribes to this idea: "Taking great interest in all modernization of the training process at our secondary school, one should not completely ignore the vast experience amassed by the people's teachers of past generations."

"The legacy of Krupskaya, Makarenko, Shatskiy, Sukhomlinskiy and all prominent pedagogues who have left a deep and indelible trace in the history of our schools must become the real property of the teaching masses," writes V. FEDOROV, candidate of philosophical sciences and lecturer at Moscow State University.

"Invoking this legacy and quoting its authors must not be reduced to generalizations or ringing phrases in the pathetic speeches of orators and in the highly learned passages of pseudoscientific works and serve only to adorn run-of-the-mill dissertations, the meaning of which goes no further than the sought-after degree. No, the ideas and experience of prominent school workers must promote developing practice everywhere and every day."

The Soviet school is called upon to play a most active and direct part in implementing the political course of comprehensively perfecting developed socialism outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress. In this connection, in the opinion of V. GOYLO, senior research association of the International Workers Movement Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the fundamental and strategic significance of the consistent progress of developed socialism's social relations as the basis of all CPSU policy should be more strongly emphasized in the draft's introduction. Social relations embrace both production and spiritual culture, and that is why the author of the letter suggests that the beginning of the introduction's second paragraph should be formulated: "OUR TIME IS MARKED BY PROFOUND TRANSFORMATION IN ALL SPHERES OF PEOPLE'S LIVES--IN MATERIAL AND NONMATERIAL PRODUCTION, IN THE NONPRODUCTION SPHERE AND IN THE SPHERES OF DISTRIBUTION AND CONSUMPTION" (further as in the draft). According to the views expressed, it is proposed to amend the end of

the second paragraph of the second section of point 5 to read; "...PROFESSIONS REQUIRED FOR PRODUCTION AND THE NONPRODUCTION SPHERE," deleting the word "material."

These letters turn attention to the beginning of the first section dealing with concrete forms of the social, political, general cultural, moral and professional elevation of Soviet man, and express the wish to strengthen this section with a statement on the role of the school in helping young people assume their social status as comasters of their country and in instilling in them a responsible attitude toward their social rights and obligations, together with an ability to participate in the running of public affairs. The readers regard this as one of the general lines of Soviet school activity.

The substance of the socialist way of life is becoming richer and more diverse. But none of this would be possible either today or tomorrow without the daily, persistent and unremitting efforts of society to educate the new man. "Nothing comes of itself, and nothing in life is provided automatically without working for it," writes V. GOLENCHENKO, senior laboratory assistant of the biochemistry department of Moscow Medical Institute No 1 and mother of three children. "Culture means work, work and more work. This is an obvious natural law. And the connection is a mutual one. If work shapes the personality, then work and all conscious activity depends upon the personality, which embodies the sum total of today's social relations. Society invests itself in virtually every tiny human being. And it is by the measure of what is invested in this respect that we judge the degree of human values. The school is responsible for the foundation of a scientific world outlook, for the knowledge and skills necessary for every citizen, and for a moral constitution. But the family too shares this responsibility with the school. It is gratifying to see that the draft reform contains the words: 'Aid to the family must be increased, and at the same time ITS RESPONSIBILITY for educating the up and coming generation must be HEIGHTENED' (the italics [capitalizations] are mine -- V. G.). Educating a future citizen is the constitutional obligation of fathers and mothers. Success can be achieved in this respect only through the coordinate efforts of the family and the school. I know a considerable number of parents who are fully aware of this lofty duty of theirs. But there are others.... And I think it is important to express the wish that, in the course of further elaborating the draft school reform, the fifth section of the document should be made to note: TO ENHANCE THE ROLE OF PUBLIC OPINION IN THE MATTER OF FORMING FAMILY RELATIONS AND OF ENSURING THE STABILITY OF THESE PRIMARY UNITS OF THE SOCIAL ORGANISM,--because, as M. I. Kalinin said, a strong family, a strong state!"

In their reflections on school reform, many readers touch upon various sections of the reform and at the same time devote attention to the complex nature of the grandiose task: Its implementation requires systematic and purposeful planning involving the concrete determination of definite steps and stages, the adoption of new legislative acts, the implementation of major state and departmental measures and the mobilization of supplementary forces and resources; concrete plans for implementing the reform in the field must take local conditions into account.



In accordance with the draft reform, the content, forms and methods of the training and educating process, the programs and plans for all subjects and also the textbooks and visual teaching aids will be brought into line with the requirements of socioeconomic and scientific-technical progress and with the particular age characteristic of the students. Readers suggest that the second paragraph of point nine should be supplemented with words to the effect that the active work of the students themselves plays a motivation and system-forming role in the training and education process, and that even when all the other factors of this process abound, the aims of training and education cannot be attained without this work.

Readers unanimously support the party directive that the list and volume of study material must be made more precise, that the practice of overloading the programs and textbooks must be eliminated, and that everything that makes the letter excessively complicated and is not of paramount importance should likewise be eliminated.

YU. BULANZHE, president of the All-Union Astronomical-Geodesic Society and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Y. LEVITAN, deputy chief editor of the USSR Academy of Sciences journal ZEMLYA I VSELENNAYA, and candidate of pedagogical sciences, are right to state that: "We would like to draw attention to a very paradoxical fact: Astronomy, which was one of the basic general education subjects during many centuries of teaching, has now become a secondary subject, to say the least. How could this happen in an era of scientific-technical revolution when general interest in the achievements of natural science is growing unusually, when astronomical science is achieving fantastic success in its knowledge of the universe, and when the virtual conquest of space is in progress? The scientific community has been raising this question for a long time. However, the competent organs of people's education are silent. In our opinion it is time to correct the situation--astronomy must occupy a worthy place in the school education system. We would like to request that the following independent clause be inserted after the sixth paragraph of point 9 of the third section:

--TAKING THE COGNITIVE AND WORLD OUTLOOK ROLE OF ASTRONOMY INTO ACCOUNT, ATTENTION SHOULD BE DRAWN TO THIS SUBJECT, AND TIME ALLOTTED TO IT IN LESSONS AND IN OPTIONAL PROGRAMS SHOULD BE INCREASED."

The most important and constant task of the school is to convey a thorough and solid knowledge of the foundations of science in the growing generation, and to develop practical skills and the ability to use them in practice. In this respect, the aim of general education school subjects is not that of directly training future chemists, mathematicians, writers and so forth. Secondary general education must ensure the multifaceted spiritual development of students to such a degree that they mature culturally and themselves are able to choose the future prospects for their independent life. However, pedagogical science has not yet formed a united and integral theoretical concept of the content of general education, by which one could be confidently guided when elaborating school programs and textbooks on all subjects. Because of this situation, an uncontrolled process of subject overloading reigns in all grades, a process intensified by the natural desire of every teacher to give his pupils as much as possible and to raise the scientific

level of teaching, as well as by the continued basic orientation of teaching toward studies in higher education institutes. At the same time, the problem of really developing an integral personality has not been resolved.

In fact, are today's literature lessons sufficient to form the students' literary taste as well as their needs to read and verbally express (in speech and in writing) their own experiences and thoughts, and to substantively analyze what they have read, seen and heard? Alas, no. Concern is also apparent in the readers' mail on the decline of general interest in the natural and exact sciences, connected with the well-known distortion and complication of school mathematics. Complaints of this kind are also made in relation to physics and chemistry.

"The school reform," writes S. MANUKYAN, lecturer at the V. Ya. Bryusov pedagogical institute (Yerevan), "must make its claim upon pedagogical science. It is impossible to set about resolving particular problems without first resolving the general ones--how can one fail to remember this Leninist warning? ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works, vol 15, p 368). I suggest that the following be inserted in the main directions of the school reform:

ELABORATE A UNITED THEORETICAL CONCEPT OF THE CONTENT OF GENERAL SECONDARY EDUCATION WITH SUBSTANTIATED PRINCIPLES OF SELECTING THE FOUNDATIONS OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE AND OF THE SKILLS AND HABITS THAT CHARACTERIZE THE REAL MATURITY OF A SOVIET SCHOOL GRADUATE, IRRESPECTIVE OF HIS CHOSEN SPHERE OF FUTURE ACTIVITY.

A number of letters emphasize that not even the most interesting theoretical design will stir either the mind or the heart of its real and vital meaning is not clear. The teacher must well understand that abstraction is not an end in itself and that it plays only an auxiliary role in the acquisition of scientific knowledge. This is true both in analyzing a subject of research and in synthesizing knowledge and proceeding from the particular to the general. Students in the upper grades must APPROACH the correct understanding of abstractions, the realization of their true role and the ability to utilize them with an aim to actively develop and transform the world. The young individual must learn to think logically, not only formally, but also informally (which, incidentally, is assisted by humanitarian subjects), and acquire the elementary skills of a dialectical approach to the processes of development so as not to become confused when coming into conflict with contradictions in reality, but to be able to regard them in the correct way, analyze them and find ways of resolving them. Contemporary workers, the engineer and the scientist all need to be able to do this.

Consequently, the opinion of L. NEMTSEVA, senior research associate of the General Genetics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and candidate of biological sciences, is justified when she says that cognition of the surrounding world must begin on a concrete subject level which a child can comprehend and must correspond to the age level of his development and to his ability to grasp the inner essence and real meaning of the processes and phenomena of nature and society, and thus acquire truly scientific knowledge.

In recent years an unforgiveably sharp tendency has been permitted in school programs: Fundamental science subjects have begun to be almost totally reduced to abstract knowledge and the formal-logical method of thinking to be represented as a solely scientific one. In their pursuit of scientific strictness, the authors of these programs have committed the sin of pseudo-science. This has caused a certain damage to the school and alienated it from life. What is more, while loudly proclaiming optimization of the school process, during the last 2 decades pedagogical science has permitted an excessive overloading of this process content. However paradoxical it is, the more optimistic the statements of theoreticians have become, the more strained school practice has become, unwittingly engendering doubts about the value of the qualification of the "optimists." The author of the letter proposes that the following be inserted in the document on school reform: "INCREASE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF PEDAGOGICAL SCIENTISTS IN RELATION TO SCHOOL PRACTICE; RESOLUTELY IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF RESEARCH WORK AND ELABORATIONS, AND MAKE THEIR RESULTS THE SUBJECT OF REGULAR PUBLIC DISCUSSION BY THE PEDAGOGICAL COMMUNITY." In fact, the cultural level of teachers is steadily rising, and in the final analysis both employees of the education apparatus and scientists must be accountable to it.

Concerned over a really vital thing, humanizing education, the representatives of many professions (and not only humanitarian ones) insist upon introducing more and more new special subjects. It is impossible not to agree with Leningrad Prof N. SKATOV that the endless addition of special disciplines is absolutely unrealistic. "It is wrong," he writes, "to substitute the question of the importance of these subjects in themselves with the question of the necessity and possibility of introducing them into school programs. Their place in the school (if it is not a special school) has been and must remain optional." The author points out that there is a subject which seems to accumulate aesthetic and moral principles--literature. But for it to be able to fulfill its role, it must be ensured its appropriate status as regards place, conditions and nature of teaching it. Or at least the status it had before, both in the school and in the philological faculties of pedagogical institutes (where it has also been decisively squeezed). N. Skatov thinks that several principles must be observed in teaching. The first is the principle of historicism. "The question is not one of directly overrunning the school program with academic historical-literary science, but one of the principle of historicism as a means of instilling historical thinking and historical memory." A number of readers also turn attention to this in connection with other subjects: biology, physics, chemistry and geography (L. NEMTSEVA, G. GEVORKYAN, V. KUZNETSOV, G. NIKANOROV and others). Students must be given not only (and not so many) results and conclusions of science, and not the sum total of completed theses, formulas and prescriptions, which have to be memorized, but rather a valuable idea of the sciences as living, developing knowledge.

The second principle N. Skatov insists upon is an orientation toward the classics, primarily Russian and Soviet, and here one cannot proceed only from the principles of "liking it--not liking it," and "interesting--not interesting." "This is not a discotheque," writes the author, "but a school subject which requires both lessons and tasks, mental work and assiduity. The classics cannot be replaced by discussions of current literature (although, of

course, the latter should not be overlooked.) And what is more, only education in the classics will help one to truly orient oneself in the contemporary literary process. In all debates on the teaching of literature, I think that no one would dare to object to the truth that the literary classics have always contributed to education and to strengthening one's moral health."

The third principle is a close mutual link between the teaching of language and literature, and "ensuring the unity of literature as an integral subject --from the first to the graduating grades."

Finally, the fourth principle is that of "constructing the program and whole method of teaching literature in such a way that the possibility of literary self-education is ensured, going far beyond the framework of the school itself."

At present, three variations of school literature programs have been worked out (by the scientific research institute of the schools of the USSR Ministry of Education, by the laboratory of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, and by the department of the methodology of teaching literature at the Lenin-grad Gertsen Pedagogical Institute). Obviously, they need to be publicly discussed in competent circles and need to be subjected to experimental objective tests.

While discussing the CPSU Central Committee draft, a number of readers have expressed opinions on forming a Marxist-Leninist world outlook in students. Fundamental results have been achieved in the fulfillment of this task. In many textbooks and methodological analyses, and against the background of school programs, a range of problems has been singled out, the discussion of which contributes to the formation of materialistic ideas on nature, and to the atheist education of school pupils, and in which the advantages of socialism in the development of society's productive forces and in the efficient utilization of nature are revealed.

Recommendations have been elaborated which are aimed at developing the ideas of Soviet patriotism. The creation of the program "Philosophical Questions of Natural Science" for institutes of teachers' further training, prepared by the USSR Ministry of Education in conjunction with the Moscow State University (Moscow, Pedagogika, 1981), must be recognized as a noticeable result.

Together with this, shortcomings of a principled nature are noted in the letters. Prof V. KUZNETSOV, doctor of chemical sciences, writes that the formation of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook is frequently conceived of by pedagogues as a narrower task, and one connected only with the formation of the foundations of a dialectical-materialist world outlook. It is very important that the draft especially point out the need to master materialist dialectics as an effective instrument of cognition and practice.

"In mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology and geography lessons," thinks V. Kuznetsov, "the students' attention must be drawn to the social conditionality of the development of scientific knowledge, and to the links between science and material production; scientific data must be elucidated not as something mysteriously appearing from somewhere but rather as the result of

social requirements being satisfied and as the consequences of long observation, painstaking experimental work, and the overcoming of many difficulties; it must always be pointed out that "there is no broad highway in science" (K. MARX); and the idea must be imparted that the reward for overcoming difficulties is comprehension of the truth and scientific discovery.

"The exposition of scientific data must not only take the form of ready conclusions, but also describe the methods of their attainment. "...Conclusions are nothing without that development which led to them..." (F. ENGELS).

"One must not absolutize scientific material, but emphasizes its relative truth, by opening up ways of deepening the knowledge and of transition to the truth of the 'second system' and so forth."

The most important aspects of the ideological-theoretical training of pedagogical cadres who specialize in the sphere of natural sciences are their comprehension of the materialist essence and the dialectical nature of natural science, and their ability to convey this understanding to the students. Vulgarization of the interpretation of dialects is inadmissible (let us say in the form of "clear" examples of the "struggle of opposites" in test tubes, flasks, instruments, etc.).

Three years ago, an article by Academician L. S. PONTRYAGIN "On Mathematics and the Quality of Its Teaching" (KOMMUNIST, 1980, No 14) aroused a huge response in the form of hundreds of comments. This topic is being touched upon once again in letters in connection with the nationwide discussion of the draft school reform. The USSR Ministry of Education has by now accomplished definite work while considering recommendations of the USSR Academy of Sciences' mathematics department. A new school mathematics program, elaborated with the participation of associates of the USSR Academy of Sciences, was approved by 1981. The decision was adopted to introduce the textbook "Geometry" by Academician A. V. Pogorelov into schools for the 6th-10th grades.

Algebra textbooks now in use are also undergoing revision, and new textbooks are being compiled which are being experimentally tested--making it possible to standardize the teaching of this subject, too, in the coming years.

A decision by the commission on school mathematics education of the USSR Academy of Sciences' mathematics department has been received by the editorial office. The decision deals with the tasks of improving the teaching of mathematics, these tasks emanating from the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee draft "The Main Directions of the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools." The decision states that scientists are aware of the need to ensure teaching of a higher quality. While rejecting formalistic methods of exposition and excluding secondary and excessively complex material, a lowering of the theoretical level of training and impoverishment of mathematics courses in essence should not be permitted. The commission considers that mathematics programs and school mathematics plans should be stabilized, work in correcting the situation regarding mathematics textbooks should be intensified, and exactingness toward all school and methodological literature published for students and teachers should be increased. The



commission's decision notes that the system of controlling this matter is ineffective at the present time, as a result of which many ill-qualified editions are making an appearance. There has been no radical improvement in the work of the journal MATEMATIKA V SHKOLE [Mathematics in Schools] and as a practical aid to the teacher it is weak; it is not an active propagandist in standardizing the teaching of mathematics in schools.

As before, there is still the task of improving the training (especially pedagogical) of future teachers of mathematics.

If something is not quite right with mathematics in schools today, note YU. MITROPOLSKIY, academician and secretary of the Ukraine SSR Academy of Sciences, A. STOGNIY, corresponding member of the Ukraine SSR Academy of Sciences, and L. IVANENKO, candidate of physical and mathematical sciences, then the main responsibility for this lies primarily with the workers of the system of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and the USSR Ministry of Education who are obliged to be familiar with the problems of mathematics and to know the conditions and potentials of secondary schools and their teachers. In all branches of the national economy there are interim sections between the scientific research institute (science) and industry--the design bureaus, the independent design bureaus, the special design and technological bureaus and so forth, plus experimental production. There are either no such sections in the sphere of the people's education, or they are not in operation, and in such matters one frequently relies upon the authority of some and the sharp wits and conscientiousness of others.

What has been said about mathematics education obviously provides food for thought for those who concern themselves with perfecting the teaching of other subjects.

The low scientific level of methodological literature is noted in the editorial mail. This kind of literature is very extensive in the mathematics field: At the present time there are more than 100 (!) methods of teaching this subject. All have been approved and recommended for introduction, but even the inexperienced reader will not find it particularly difficult to convince himself that they are excessively wordy to a considerable degree, and at times contain erroneous recommendations.

Discussion of the draft school reform has prompted the editorial office to turn to academician V. VLADIMIROV, chairman of the council of experts of the USSR High Degree Commission for Mathematics and Mechanics. He reported that the standard of dissertation works on pedagogical problems of teaching mathematics is low. Many of them have been awarded a negative evaluation by the commission for school mathematics education of the USSR Academy of Sciences' mathematics department and also by leading scientist-mathematicians.

The main criteria for evaluating the education system are the practical results, which one can judge beyond the school walls. Our leaders--professors, lecturers and simply teachers, and doctors and candidates of physical-mathematical sciences of the Moscow Oblast Pedagogical Institute, the Moscow Aviation Technological Institute, the Chuvash Pedagogical Institute, the



Pushkin Higher Military Engineering Building Institute and the Urals, Kaliningrad, Mordovo, Chechen-Ingush, and other state universities--unanimously complain of the poor quality of knowledge among secondary school graduates, and of the absence of necessary skills for carrying out elementary arithmetical operations and algebraic transformations.

Following is the statement by YU. BELOKRYLOV, head of the training department of the Moscow Technological Institute of the Food Industry: "Is it conceivable that secondary school graduates are unable to add up fractions, divide one-half by three or four, calculate the area of a circle or the volume of a cylinder...? Unfortunately this is pretty often the case. I don't even mention their inability to produce identical transformations of algebraic terms, to expand polynomials into multipliers, and the mistakes connected with ignorance of the concept of the arithmetical root, and the formulas and functions of trigonometry....

"Errors and omissions in mathematical education have not appeared of themselves.... Paid tutoring as a social evil has arisen not because of 'excessive' demands made by the school (on the contrary, in a number of higher education institutes they have been lowered during recent years), but due to shortcomings in the education system.... I propose that the following be inserted in point 3 of the first section of the document discussed: **HEIGHTEN THE PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY OF LEADERS OF ALL RANKS OF THIS SYSTEM FOR THE TASK WITH WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN ENTRUSTED.**"

Incidentally, it is not only mathematics textbooks that deserve serious censure--some school physics aids are not better, about which the editorial office is also receiving signals.

The textbook has always been conceived of as a canon of its kind--and so it should be. The information it advances and its literary quality must be irreproachable, and the whole standard of its preparation must be high. And there were good, worthy physics textbooks (by A. V. Peryshkin, I. A. Rodina, G. S. Landsberg and others) on school desks in our country comparatively recently. What on earth has happened now? Which link in the mechanism of preparing such responsible publications is not working? But perhaps it is several links at once? These questions are natural when discussing the draft school reform. After all, textbooks are not only written, they are also reviewed, approved and confirmed....

Prof B. ISKAKOV, head of the statistics chair of the G. V. Plekhanov Moscow Institute of the National Economy, writes about the ideological-educational aspect of physics textbooks: "...Permitting poor quality textbooks (throughout the country)," he thinks, "is more harmful than keeping on mediocre teachers at a school (or at a number of schools)." The philosophical and world outlook aspect is given special place in school literature. A few years ago, the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences received a report (70 typewritten pages) from Prof V. ZUBOV, doctor of physical and mathematical sciences, on the "Dynamics" section of the textbook "Physics-8" by I. K. Kikoin and A. K. Kikoin. In his report Prof V. Zubov noted in particular that the general pattern of expounding dynamics, and the interpretation and meaning of the basic concepts and laws had been borrowed by the

authors from the book "Mechanics" (Russian translation, St. Petersburg, 1909) by the not unknown Austrian physicist and philosopher-idealist Ernst Mach.

During the period 1956-60, one of the authors of the above-mentioned textbook tried to implement this very same pattern in his mechanics course in the physics department of Moscow State University, but it was rejected by the professorate and the students. "This kind of borrowing and lifting," we read in the information report, "cannot be considered either a merit of the textbook or a pedagogical achievement. It is unsuccessful both from a methodological and from a physics and pedagogical point of view... During its existence this book has created serious difficulties for more than 40 million people, and has made the physics education level drop sharply. Its further use in schools can irrevocably damage the intellectual potential of the country as a whole."

"Teach, and do not confuse," Academician B. KEDROV headed his letter to the editor. His letter was prompted by the publication of an experimental textbook for the seventh grade by N. S. Akhmetov and L. M. Kuznetsova entitled "Inorganic Chemistry," and by a eulogistic review in the journal "Chemistry and Life" (1980 No 8). The authors of the textbook and the article militate for the complete modernization of chemistry teaching in schools, while slighting the preceding experience. The academician, chemist by profession, and an outstanding philosopher and Marxist, points out the inadmissible anachronism and most blatant mistakes in the book, and subjects its fundamental tenets to criticism, by insisting that a school course is called upon to lay in the students' consciousness firm foundations of science--primarily experimental. B. Kedrov thinks the third section of the school reform document should note: "OBSERVE METHODOLOGICAL DISCIPLINE WHEN PREPARING TEXTBOOKS AND SCHOOL AIDS, TREAT THE HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF SCIENCE AND SCHOOL EDUCATION WITH RESPECT, ENSURE A HIGH PEDAGOGICAL AND LITERARY STANDARD AND BE GUIDED BY PRACTICE WHICH HAS POSITIVELY RECOMMENDED ITSELF."

Symptoms of an alarming epidemic are making themselves felt in school literature. Simplifications, vulgarizations, factual inaccuracies and unacceptably dry material--such are the characteristic shortcomings of many of today's textbooks noted by readers.

"Putting together school aids is a complex process. And there are problems at every stage which scientists and specialists in the corresponding science are obliged to resolve, and there are questions that pedagogical theoreticians, teachers, psychologists, and methodologist must work on," writes V. BEYLINSON, leader of a group which discusses problems of school books from the Prosveshcheniye Publishing House. "Ignoring this fact is one of the main reasons for the serious failures of a number of textbooks and school aids of the last 20 years. The main document of the reform should say: ENSURE THE RELIABLE INTERACTION OF VARIOUS TYPES OF SCIENTISTS AND PRACTICAL SPECIALISTS, AND A PRECISE DIVISION OF WORK BETWEEN THEM IN THE PROCESS OF PREPARING BOOKS FOR SCHOOLS. THIS KIND OF INTERACTION MUST EXTEND TO ESTABLISHING SIMPLE AND PRECISE PROCEDURES FOR APPROVING TEXTBOOKS AND SCHOOL AIDS, AND ELABORATING AN EFFECTIVE METHOD OF EVALUATING EXISTING TEXTBOOKS. It is precisely this which must provide a substantiated answer in every concrete

case to the question: Is it necessary to compile a new textbook (for aid), or is it sufficient to update the present one, and to what extent?"

The CPSU Central Committee draft states that the use of computers in the school process will arm students with the skills needed for using contemporary computer technology, "The swift development and broad application of the latter in all spheres of the national economy and scientific knowledge obviously speaks in favor of this thesis," writes Prof V. BURAVIKHIN, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and doctor of physics and mathematical sciences. "In the very near future every educated individual will need to master the basics of electronic computer and micro-processing programming equipment... It is expedient to study and generalize, critically interpret and utilize the experience accumulated both within the country and abroad."

The practice of Novosibirsk schools which are under the patronage of the computer center of the Siberian section of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and also the practice of a number of Moscow schools testifies to the expediency of introducing computer technology in the teaching process.

"For this," writes L. SEREBROVSKIY, candidate of technical sciences, "every school must have at least one computer machine with several terminals, which is cheap, sturdy to work with (children are children), with a sufficiently developed logic (program coverage) so that using it is not monotonous. It must be within the students' ability to draw up programs in the simplest algorithmic languages, and to fulfill tasks such as calculating by formulas, building function graphs, solving logical problems, data processing problems and so forth."

It is a long-term plan to introduce automated control of the students' knowledge by means of organizing dialogue with the computer using display or printer systems. Already widespread in institutes of higher education, this practice can be applied equally well in schools. "Contact" with a machine controller and "interlocutor" is somewhat like a game, but on a higher intellectual level than that of usual school games, and thereby arouses students' interest. All this makes this kind of "dialogue" very attractive and mobile. "However," writes L. Serebrovskiy, "the psychological aspect must be borne in mind here. The press has justly noted: A machine is able to evaluate the logic of an answer, but it cannot be a substitute for what is given by live human contact between the students and the teacher. Spiritual and emotional culture, esthetics and the ethics of relations--all this is left to the pedagogue. Consequently, computers must be introduced into the teaching process carefully and must be limited to controlled use only during the period of preparation for an examination or for a controlled examination, but under no circumstances must the teacher, who fulfills also the educator's role every minute, be pushed aside."

Obviously, a fundamental revision of school programs is needed here, and psychologists--primarily children's psychologists--must participate actively in this work. Unfortunately, knowledge is still insufficient in the sphere of psychological analysis of the "man and machine" situation, and consequently painstaking research and experiments are needed to elucidate the

particular characteristics of interaction between students and computers, and the influence of the latter upon molding these or those features of the personality.

The problem of introducing microcalculators into school practice cannot be bypassed. Thoughtless enthusiasm for these calculators in the early school stages can harm the development of certain qualities of the intellect. Of course, the recent sharp decline in the level of elementary calculating skills among school and technical college graduates is not connected with this only. It is not difficult to imagine the distress of technical college teachers when those possessing school graduate certificates cannot carry out simple arithmetic and algebraic operations (N. GUSEVA, a teacher of the mathematics department of the Moscow Technological Institute of the Food Industry, has reported this to the editor's office).

The latest technical equipment is not a contribution to fashion. It is useful and effective with the proper pedagogical supervision and consideration for the student's mental stage of development, as well as for other conditions which must be studied by psychologists. One must not forget that there is nothing more harmful than thoughtlessly picking up a useful novelty and turning it into an attribute of external success, without considering how this "success" meets the real needs of progress and what it in fact yields.

The draft reform calls the lesson the "base form of the educational process." Readers write of the need to perfect this form and cite examples of searches in this direction.

In recent years various proposals to change the teaching and education process have appeared. Some experience of embodying these proposals in teaching and educational work has been accumulated. We cite an excerpt from a letter by teacher S. SHEVCHENKO (from the city of Kurakhovo in Donetsk Oblast): "We practical pedagogues are not indifferent to the stand taken on this problem by higher organs of the people's education. We are sure that our country's whole adult population is interested in resolving it." For more than 10 years S. Shevchenko has been working according to the methodology described in detail in two books published by Pedagogika: V. Shatalov, "Where and How Have the Threes Disappeared" (Moscow, 1979); and, by the same author, "Pedagogical Prose" (Moscow, 1980). This methodology has been grasped very well by many teachers. It was evaluated in a different way by the RSFSR Ministry of Education, which issued an instructional letter on 14 June 1982 entitled "On 'Universal' and 'Fashionable' Methods and Means of Teaching and Educating Students." "This document is in fact directed against innovation if the latter...is not strictly regulated by directives, instructional letters, methodological recommendations or scientific theses set out in textbooks on pedagogy, psychology and individual methods, which have been approved by the USSR and RSFSR Ministries of Education...."

Of course, methodological anarchy is inadmissible. But can one develop the teaching and educational work only as it has already been described, indicated, and proposed somewhere...? The pedagogical process is not standardized production, but one which relies on all preceding practical experience, and on scientific achievements which presuppose development and changes depending on concrete conditions. "This must explain the fact," writes

Shevchenko, "that one can only be a good teacher if one not only knows fundamental pedagogical literature but also constantly works with this literature and continually seeks effective solutions to the tasks facing one. But how can living, creative work be confined within the framework of instructions and directions?"

The teacher must be given a certain degree of freedom, and his work should be appraised according to the pedagogical result he achieves. In this respect, the talent of individual pedagogues should also not be dismissed, and talent, as V. I. Lenin wrote, must be encouraged ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", vol 44, p 250).

M. ALFEROVA, teacher at School No 8 in the city of Chirchik in Tashkent Oblast, shares her thoughts on her trip to the city of Donetsk to see V. Shatalov, author of programmed teaching with the use of support signals. "In my opinion, his method confirms in practice the ideas expressed by Krupskaya on the collective and collective principles of teaching in the Soviet school.... This is primarily the method of Soviet pedagogy, which was theoretically elucidated a long time ago, but which is hardly used in the practice of today's schools. It also confirms the true goodness which Sukhomlinskiy wrote so much about."

The author of the letter admits that at first she herself doubted the proposed new methodological solutions, until she had assured herself of their exceptional fruitfulness in practice--they seem to make it possible to "compress" time, but compelling literally everyone in the class to join in active work, arousing a creative attitude to study, and removing the problem of discipline and of overloading students from the agenda.

A group of teachers of the Secondary School No 32 in the city of Omsk have reported the very same to the editor's office.

"We are not in favor of taking pedagogical liberties," writes N. KUKHAREV, honored teacher of the Belorussian SSR, "as this can really border upon ignorance. We are in favor of the findings of individual teachers continually feeding the collective experience. A teacher's work is exclusively individual, but connected with life by thousands of threads."

If a teacher does not see these threads he feels them and achieves success in his work. But "perspicacious" scientists weigh everything according to their own standards, forgetting that not every one of them can see and generalize. And this is obvious. What is more, as the well-known Belorussian writer V. Bykov has graphically expressed himself, some scientist is given a degree and spends his whole life milking the state treasury; and since he knows who he is now--a scientist in a new uniform--he mouths "methods" and "principles" and imposes them. It is the teacher who suffers. We are not at all against scientific recommendations. The foundations of pedagogical culture are laid by both science and experience. We are more in favor of everyone looking more closely and more precisely into the pedagogical findings of the teachers themselves, under no circumstances discrediting the experience which has laid a path for itself through its high quality. Teachers today react quickly to novelties. They are not going to strive after experience or science until they see a meaning. Consequently, everyone must heed their voices, and not hinder but help them to create."



And here are some lines from A. SHARAFUTDINOV's letter from Novosibirsk: "The teaching community has long been perturbed by the way school methodology seriously lags behind life, by the growth of pedagogical waste, and by the disdainful attitude of classical scholars of Soviet pedagogy toward pedagogical ideas and methods.... The boldest pedagogues are not only perturbed, but also themselves actively seek and, through difficulties and mistakes, achieve innovative findings and introduce them--in a word, they are waging a struggle for contemporary pedagogy. And however strange it may be, the main opponents are leading workers of the Ministry of Education and the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences."

Teachers' creative initiative is the basis for perfecting school activity. Progress consists in the fact that something new, which is not contained, shall we say, in didactic aids, is continually being born and confirmed. Whether to accept this new idea or not is determined not only by its intellectual strength but also by the qualification and skill of the teacher. It is precisely for this reason that many of our readers warmly support the thesis of the CPSU Central Committee draft: "The successful solution of complex problems of teaching and educating the youth depends decisively on the teacher, his ideological conviction, professional skill, erudition and culture."

The class-lesson teaching system is being perfected. "It is evolving in favor of a more flexible school timetable and more extensive use of forms of school activity which have been borrowed from other teaching systems," writes Prof O. NILSON, director of the Estonian Scientific Research Institute of Pedagogy.

V. DYACHENKO, head of the chair of pedagogy and psychology at the Krasnoyarsk State University, is fighting to broaden the organizational basis of school activity. He insists upon utilizing rarely used resources that exist in opportunities for mutual contact between students during the lesson and in studies with dialogues in alternate pairs. His proposal for the reform is:

"THE LESSON AS THE BASIC FORM OF ORGANIZING THE TEACHING PROCESS UNDER CONTEMPORARY CONDITIONS NEEDS TO BE RADICALLY AND COMPREHENSIVELY PERFECTED. ITS FORMATIVE AND EDUCATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS MUST BE DECISIVELY IMPROVED, WHICH MEANS INTRODUCING COMMUNIST RELATIONS INTO THE TEACHING PROCESS, AND REORGANIZING IT ON COLLECTIVE PRINCIPLES. THIS PRESUPPOSES, IN PARTICULAR, THE EXTENSIVE USE OF COLLECTIVE STUDIES IN SCHOOL LESSONS, IN WHICH EACH STUDENT WORKS WITH EVERY OTHER STUDENT IN TURN, AND IN THIS WAY THE COLLECTIVE TEACHES EACH OF ITS MEMBERS UNDER THE TEACHER'S GUIDANCE, AND EVERY STUDENT ACCORDINGLY ACTIVELY PARTICIPATES IN TEACHING ALL OF HIS COMRADES IN JOINT WORK."

N. Kukharev, honored teacher at the Belorussian SSR, also thinks that introducing collective studies into the practice of school work is one way of optimizing the teaching and education process: "The findings of teachers and even of entire pedagogical collectives in this sphere are not isolated." N. PAVLOVA, history teacher at Moscow School No 204, justly considers that methodological directives must not be rigidly regulating standards and patterns which fetter the living pedagogical process to the extreme. This particularly concerns social sciences. "Methodological methods and forms must help one to grasp the essence of phenomena, teach one to scientifically analyze historical events and give them the correct party evaluation, and not



compress complex life into a sociological pattern. Unfortunately, the control questions and patterns of standards of 'model' answers worked out in the laboratory of the Scientific Research Institute of the Content and Methods of Teaching of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences are aimed at 'fitting everyone into the same pattern.' This deliberately vulgarizes a subject, although in this way it also ensures external control over the teaching process. It is here that one of the causes of formalism lies. Is control of this kind of any great value? It is not the essence of the lesson, but the letter of the 'law' (that is, methodology) which worries the evaluators. Woe betide anyone who dares to deviate from this methodology, not wishing to work according to a set pattern! The obstinate ones are 'educated' with devastating inquiries and organizational conclusions. How many pedagogues suffer blows to their dignity in these kinds of clashes, sometimes including those with many years' experience! Implanting rigid methodological schemes in teaching leads the students away from real knowledge in favor of formal answers, and the teachers from real pedagogical work to mechanical fulfillment of their duties."

A considerable number of letters are devoted to the problem of work training and education. The draft "Main Directions of the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools" states that instilling "a conscious need to work...is a task of paramount economic, social and moral significance." Readers note that at present the schools cope poorly with this task. One of the main shortcomings of the present state of affairs lies in the fact that students and parents regard productive work and study as incomparable in their importance. However, properly organized work education, training, and professional orientation, and the direct participation of students in socially useful productive work are indispensable factors in intellectual development and the civic formation of the personality. Ideas of work training as being something "supplementary" in the student's school education, bearing almost no relation to the main tasks which occupy the student during his school years, are profoundly incorrect. It is no simple matter to overcome these kinds of false notions. Proceeding from the data accumulated by science and practice, Prof N. TALYZINA, active member of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, names the conditions which will assist in this: "First, work must be something which is done EVERY DAY, it must be an integral part of a child's life even in the preschool years. Second, not only physical but also psychological conditions must be taken into maximum account when organizing work. Third, it is necessary to adopt the position of 'master,' responsible for all the stages of obtaining a product, and not that of 'time-server,' who serves his time and has no relation to anything which comes before or after him. This means that the school must have its own production base, its own enterprise, for which the students' collective is completely answerable."

"Organizing this is not a simple matter, but it is necessary," writes N. Talyzina. "The advantage of this kind of production also lies in the fact that in this way the students can familiarize themselves with a whole system of types of work; production, administrative, scientific-technical and so forth. This essentially facilitates vocation-oriented work. Finally, the introduction of the most productive methods of training can be ensured at these enterprises, and special conditions for developing the students' creative potentials and for fulfilling a number of other educational tasks can be created."

Fourth, the types of work must be selected with consideration for the students' inclinations, and the intellectual content must be of a sufficiently high level, when dealing with the work of students in the upper grades.

"The problem of students' work remuneration must also be resolved. This problem has great educational significance. The experience of the Chayka school experimental plant testifies to the positive effect of work remuneration on the formation of a whole number of qualities of the personality."

Prof A. BODALEV, dean of the psychology department of Moscow State University, sent the editor's office materials from a discussion on the article "The Main Sculptor of the Personality Is Work" (KOMMUNIST, 1983, No 9) at a meeting of the department's Academic Council, emphasizing that this article has great significance, and that "school education reform must be based on consistent and comprehensive application of the principle of combining teaching with productive work."

N. ALEKSEYEV, doctor of philosophical sciences and senior scientific associate of the Sociological Research Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, is convinced that "the system of work relations in which students begin to create objects and things in a renewed school must clearly, graphically and visibly reproduce the true beauty of liberated work, and the joyous triumph of social justice, while forming in the younger generation firm, deep and mature understanding of socialist principles and ideals." For this purpose it is not kind patron uncles who must build and repair children's production facilities, but the school work collectives themselves. And it is not the adult instructors of work training, taken on by kind patron uncles, who should run the school training workshops and productions operations, but--under their tactful leadership--girls and boys themselves who should perform to full capacity the absorbing functions of machine operators, norm setters, heads of workshops, and directors of the school enterprises and should be fully responsible for prime costs, quality and the profitability of the products made. It is students themselves, sons and daughters of workers who, in arguments and excitement, by trial and error, success and failure must jointly master the skills of socialist economic operations, so as to be able later to take on the management of the whole national economy of their great country themselves.

Only by combining teaching with productive labor and by cultivating collective forms of training is the formation of personality possible.

Many readers list the perfecting of the administration of the people's education as the key prerequisite for achieving the positive changes outlined by the CPSU Central Committee draft, and they approve section 8 of the document. The administrative organs are called upon to steadily pursue a united state policy in the sphere of the education and training of the up-and-coming generation, and to fulfill the tasks assigned them at a high level.

History teacher G. NIKANOROV (Moscow) writes that the generous supplementary investment of material, financial and labor resources in the education sphere must be backed up by a principled and qualitative restructuring of the whole system of leadership in the activities of the pedagogical collectives and the

organs connected with them. "Today's departmental and administrative algorithm is the main cause of all our school absurdities, disruptions and troubles, including formalism and percentage mania. An efficient administration system in the field of the people's education must be built on the basis of really objective criteria for evaluating the real results of pedagogical work and which completely exclude even the semblance of subjective arbitrariness, show, and eyewash."

The progressive changes in management of the national economy have given many readers the idea of using this experience in education. Thus V. Sorokina, a pedagogue in Babyninskiy Rayon of Kaluga Oblast, says in her letter that most ministries have already been reorganized, and instead of five or six administrative units two or three are now in operation. The reduction in the number of levels of authority and the formation of scientific-production associations have brought leadership and science nearer to industrial, construction and other projects and have contributed to the intensification of production, to the acceleration of its reorganization on the basis of the latest scientific achievements, and to scientific-technical progress.

"Cutting down the levels of authority in the administrative system of the people's education will make it possible to bring the leading workers of the Ministry of Education and the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences closer to the school and the teaching and education process. They will be in a better position to know what is now happening in schools, what are the real and not imaginary tasks and difficulties of school teachers and leaders, why it is difficult for students to learn, and why the measures adopted still have not raised the quality of teaching and education of students to the required level. In this connection, responsibility for all that goes on in the school will also be heightened, and attention to and real concern for the school, teachers and students will consequently increase. All this will contribute to working out better-thought-out, more effective, and more realistic recommendations and directives for perfecting the teaching and education process."

Readers support the proposals of engineer Ya. BEREGOVY to form a new general pattern for the organizational structure of education administration, this pattern being described in detail in the journal EKO [EKONOMIKA I ORGANIZATSIYA PROMYSHLENNOGO PROIZVODSTVA] (1983, No 12). One can argue about the principles of this pattern, but one thing is beyond all doubt: It pushes a problem that has long been ripe from its "standstill," and all of its details are well and knowledgeably thought through and provide substantial food for collective discussion.

This survey has not been able to cover all of the letters received. Responses are still coming in. The journal will deal with the individual questions in its coming issues. The essential thing here is the unanimous support for the CPSU Central Committee's draft "Main Directions in the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools." The aims of the reform are noble, highly moral, and humane. There is no doubt that the Soviet people will spare no effort to successfully implement these aims for the sake of our society's comprehensive progress, and its advance toward communism.

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HE WAS A MAN!...

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 84 (signed to press 5 Mar 84) pp 90-101

[Article by Hero of the Soviet Union, Dr of Technical Sciences M. Gallay, honored USSR test pilot, written on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Yu. A. Gagarin's birth]

[Text] The first flight of the Vostok space flight apparatus with a human aboard--the flier Gagarin, a citizen of the Soviet Union--became an event not only in the history of science and technology but, one could say without fear of exaggerating, the history of mankind in general. A new age--the space age--began on 12 April 1961.

Yuriy Gagarin would have been 50 years old on 9 March 1984. How sad this "would have been" sounds!...

It would be difficult to imagine a 50-year-old Gagarin! As difficult as to imagine Talalikhin at 65 or Chkalov at 80.... The dead stay young.

In the minds of the people--not only at home but throughout the world--Gagarin remains forever young, full of life, smiling with his uniquely enchanting smile. He remains the contemporary not only of us who knew him, but of many future generations as well. Let us understand what precisely remains important and topical to us about him, other than the fact that he performed the first outer space flight: his way of thinking, style of behavior, views, expressions and relations with people.

Somehow naturally Gagarin's personality combined what might have seemed incompatible: the uniqueness and typical nature of his fate and his appearance. Cosmonaut K. P. Feoktistov said quite accurately that Gagarin was "an ordinary person in an extraordinary situation." Let us add to this that, finding himself in such an extraordinary situation he coped with it perfectly! What we mean by an extraordinary situation is not merely, or even only, the fact of his flight aboard the first manned spaceship in the history of mankind, but all subsequent "ground" burdens which were assumed by the cosmonaut and with which he dealt with amazing dignity, modesty and as a matter of course. The psychological key to all of this, it seems to me, should be sought precisely in the latter--his naturalness. Gagarin had the rich gift of being able to remain himself always, under all circumstances.

However, at the same time, and I beg the readers to excuse this disparate yet quite suitable term, he was also what is known as a "typical representative."

He was a typical military flier, yesterday's Komsomol member and, finally, simply a young member of his generation and his environment, fraternally similar to his coevals and comrades. That is precisely why he was considered very much "one of the group." For even Gagarin's exclamation at the takeoff of the Vostok--"We're off!", which became so widely known, proves above all the fact that the first cosmonaut, like his group comrades, was a member of the air force. For rare is the flier, the pilot, who would voice the statutory "Crew, I'm taking off!" before taking off. Virtually everyone says "We're off!" It was the same thing that naturally happened during the training of the first group of our cosmonauts on the simulator. Gagarin, one could say, took this specific flying expression to outer space....

Many specialists in various fields participated in the training of the first Soviet cosmonauts. The author of this article was among them. Almost a quarter of a century has passed since that time but I remember in all its detail, as though it were yesterday, this autumn day of 1960, when the simulator of the Vostok spaceship was set up in the premises and, behind Ye. A. Karpov, the organizer and first chief of the Cosmonaut Training Center, the first six Soviet cosmonauts entered (or rather, at that time, the future cosmonauts). All six of them were well put together, smart-looking, of average height (the first spaceships in which every kilogram of launching weight counted, imposed quite strict restrictions on the cosmonauts ; the same circumstance also largely determined the selection of the first six). They entered in sequence, identified themselves in curt military fashion, and immediately, with unconcealed interest, began to look at the simulator in which they were to develop the skills of their actions during the space flights awaiting them.

I must say that sincere feelings of respect and sympathy for the future cosmonauts developed in all of us even before we made their personal acquaintance. It was impossible not to assess properly the resolve with which they had so sharply changed the course of their so successfully started careers.

Judge for yourselves: a person is an air force flier. He likes his work. His record is good and he is a good pilot (no other type of person could be chosen as a future cosmonaut). He felt the romanticism as well as the prestige and the need of the state for his work. He could clearly see the possibility of upgrading his flight and command skills and a proper promotion in rank. Finally, both he and his family were materially secure. In a word, he was firmly on the track. What else could one wish?

Yet he was leaving all of this behind for the sake of something entirely new, a totally unknown and clearly risky project.... To give up the petit bourgeois concept of "leave well enough alone" called for being made of the finest fabric, which had always been the stuff of navigators, explorers of the Arctic, travelers in wild continents, experimenters, testers, researchers and, finally, people who could rise to the occasion quickly in major and minor matters....

It became quite clear soon that all six were distinguished not only by this ability to rise quickly but by a clear purposefulness, conscientiousness and active wish not only to carry out their assignment but to carry it out in the best possible manner!...

The cosmonauts settled in our hostel. They settled and immediately somehow blended among the large number of other assigned personnel, visitors, new arrivals and those about to depart. They went to the movies and attended dances in our club and maintained extensive relations with older inhabitants but did not draw any particular attention to themselves, for many are the young people wearing an air force uniform in this world!

But then, when the portraits of these happy and companionable recent senior lieutenants and captains began to show up on the front pages of the newspapers many of our male associates (and female associates even more so) opened their eyes widely and clapped their hands.

"My God! Is that really..." and they named the cosmonaut. "I would not have thought it if my life depended on it! He was like all the others...only nicer...and witty...nothing heroic about him..."

"Nothing heroic." It is high time for us to become accustomed to the fact that if heroic actions were accomplished only by individuals resembling heroic posters, the number of such actions, at wartime let us say, would have probably have been reduced a thousand times! It is time to become used to this although it is quite difficult. If someone is a hero, he should be 2 meters high, broad-shouldered, with a willful chin and, naturally, an inflexible, steely stare. But, particularly in terms of size, our cosmonauts were far less impressive than their depictions on most pictures which were to appear in abundance soon afterwards. They showed not even a hint of exclusivity, of significant thoughtfulness or any other characteristics indicating an awareness of their forthcoming lofty mission. What did Gagarin, Titov and their comrades look like? I would say quite ordinary. It takes no particular effort to come across this kind of boy in any air force garrison. Is this bad? To the contrary, I am convinced that this is quite good! This does not diminish in the least the qualities of the first cosmonauts but says a great deal in favor of "any air force garrison."

A positive example is a very powerful thing! (as, actually, is a negative example and it would be useful not to underestimate it). The example of senior comrades in one's profession, from whom one could learn skill, approach to the project and even specific work methods, is very necessary. Actually, this is the basis of tutorship which has become deservedly widespread in our country of late.

It is true that the example of a cosmonaut in the meaning of this term is naturally limited to a rather small circle of colleagues, for as we know being a cosmonaut is not a mass skill and would hardly become such in the foreseeable future.

There is, however, another type of example--moral. Example of behavior, of attitude toward people and perception of life. The more popular a person is the more he is noted and the stronger the influence of his example on the entire moral climate of society becomes.

In this sense, the example set by Gagarin, Titov and many other cosmonauts who flew after them has been exceptionally effective. Just visit any school,



vocational-technical school, plant shop or scientific institution to describe what one knows about space matters, to listen to, and to the extent of one's own knowledge, to answer a flood of questions and, above all, to look at the faces of the people captivated by the topic despite the fact that we ourselves--in the press and on the radio and television--frankly speaking, have not always acted in the interest of supporting and developing interest in the space topic with impeccable accuracy. Occasionally we have been carried away by excessive ostentatiousness and showing off, although we had in front of us the example--that same moral positive example--of the invariably restrained and modest statements by the cosmonauts and, in general, by workers in cosmonautics, concerning their work.

Whenever it is a question of the moral example set by Gagarin, almost the first remembered thing is his attitude toward glory. This was a universal glory, deafening, which came upon a very young person, yesterday's senior lieutenant, a flier in one of the distant airfields somewhere in the north.

It was as though all civic feelings triggered by the first space flights in history had concentrated on the personality of the cosmonaut (incidentally, Gagarin, Titov and other cosmonauts have not missed the opportunity loudly to emphasize this fact and to state that they consider this unfair).

It is true that subsequently as well a certain transformation in the views of society concerning space flights could not fail to take place when such flights began to be numbered in the dozens. The effect of the uniqueness of the event vanished. This is a normal process. What is first is first and what is the hundredth is the hundredth. It would be strange automatically to transfer to the hundredth space flight all that which, naturally, spontaneously appeared as a reaction to the first.

Did Gagarin change during the last years of his life? Generally speaking, naturally, he did. He became more confident, he acquired management skills, he acquired a rather fine understanding of incentives motivating people and, in general, of human psychology (as confirmed by some of his accurate and perspicacious statements). Briefly, he grew up quickly.

In many respects this growth was assisted by the features which were clearly present in his character before the space flight. He was naturally intelligent, for otherwise, obviously, no experience would have taught him how to understand people. He showed a great deal of tact and a sense of his own dignity and, to no less extent, a sense of humor. He keenly perceived anything which could trigger a smile in statements made by the people or in arising situations.

Once at the cosmodrome, shortly before the flight of the first Vostok, Sergey Pavlovich Korolev, I no longer remember on what occasion, suddenly undertook --and I suspect this was not the first time--to explain extensively and in detail to Gagarin the great number of safety measures which had been planned for any case which could arise in space. In the course of this rather lengthy monologue, Gagarin assented and so zealously added to the arguments which proved the rightness of the speaker that the latter, sensing the comic

aspect of the situation, suddenly interrupted his lecture and, with an entirely different, conversational tone of voice, said:

"I wanted to cheer him up but it turns out he was cheering me up."

Gagarin smiled broadly and philosophically noted:

"We are probably cheering each other up."

All the people around him laughed and I believe this laughter was no less useful to the project than the analysis of another dozen possible emergency situations and the variety of means aimed at ensuring the safety of the cosmonaut.

F. D. Gorbov, the noted aerospace physician and psychologist, who had done a great deal in the training of our first cosmonaut, deemed it necessary especially to point out in an important document such as the prelaunch medical report that "Senior Lt Gagarin retains his natural sense of humor. He jokes willingly and reacts to the jokes of others...."

I am emphasizing Gagarin's sense of humor not merely because I like this valuable human feature without which many of life's trials would be experienced by us by far more painfully, and many happy events would pass by unnoticed. Naturally, all of this is true. In addition to this, however, a properly developed sense of humor forces a person to direct it toward himself as well. And the road from self-irony to self-criticism and to the ability to look at oneself soberly from the side is straight.

That is precisely what Gagarin was able to do to the greatest extent! He could quite clearly see the points, so to say, at which his personality did not as yet fully coincide with the superlative features of the portrait of him painted through the collective efforts of an entire army of journalists and commentators. This was unquestionable, for it would be impossible to explain otherwise Gagarin's great development, particularly in the final years of his life, in terms of culture, erudition and intelligence!

Many years later, his fellow cosmonaut A. A. Leonov, in speaking of visits paid together with Gagarin to various art exhibits, pointed out that "... he realized that one must learn how to appreciate a painting properly (one could easily confuse abstractionism with impressionism). At such exhibits Yuriy asked about literally everything, including technical fine points...and never allowed himself to make a categorical judgment."

Yes, it is indeed necessary to learn how accurately to assess a painting. What is even more important, probably, is restraint in one's judgment!

And Gagarin studied. Quite successfully at that.

Actually, I consider the real, living, changing and growing Gagarin far more attractive than the static portrait I mentioned, according to which from an early age he had been an A-plus student in all subjects and all areas. If

such excellent grades are given for everything, the question is what will a person make of himself later on?... Generally speaking, in any school the so-called best student is rarely particularly popular among his classmates...

Gagarin was hardly a well-behaved "best student!" In his younger years he could be mischievous and willing to play a harmless trick on any one of his friends. He was quite eager to go places and see people. Shakespeare's words, "He was a man!" hardly fit anyone better than they did Gagarin.... No, he categorically refused to climb upon a pedestal!...

A very typical feature of Gagarin was a highly developed ability rapidly to realize what was new, to adapt to unusual circumstances, to realize the nature of unexpected new duties and to cope with them without any visible stress.

Without visible stress.... However, when the circumstances demanded it, and with his typically responsible attitude toward his assignments, Gagarin could work assiduously. N. F. Kuznetsov, one of the heads of the Cosmonaut Training Center who followed Ye. A. Karpov, wrote that as deputy chief of the center, Gagarin adequately coped with the new aspects of his work inevitable in administrative practices: "He handled very complex documents and worked with them quite accurately, impeccably."

Several days after the first manned flight in space Gagarin went to see the writers at the Central House of Literary Workers (TsDL). Unless I am mistaken, this was one of his first speeches to a large and unfamiliar audience. He handled this new role beautifully. Facing the crowded, large hall of the TsDL, under the bright lights and cameras flashing, and before the many eyes which studied him closely, for the writers were looking at the first person who had come from this black, infinite space with which, until a few days before, only science fiction writers had felt comfortable, he behaved naturally, modestly, and with unexpected charm (which subsequently became customary). It turned out that this young, medium-sized major, who only yesterday had been a senior lieutenant, was perfectly suited to do the work which had to be done after the space flight.

Gagarin's ability to find his way in complex situations and his understanding of the human mentality--not only the individual but that of the crowd--was frequently successfully tested during his trips around the world and in meeting with friends or merely acquaintances.... It is true that even with such "mere acquaintances" he could trigger feelings very close to friendship quite quickly and with seemingly unsophisticated means--a natural behavior, a calm humor and a total absence of any hint at being superman.

Wherever he appeared he was welcomed as though he was at home, in Moscow. How else could it be? It was very natural for the first cosmonaut in history to belong not only to his own country but to all mankind.

Gagarin was able to talk with people. He could establish an emotional contact with them from the very beginning. In Japan, for example, he stood up in front of many thousands of people attending a mass meeting and said:

"When the rocket put the Vostok spaceship into orbit the first country I saw after my homeland was Japan."

He was silenced for a few minutes by the ovation which followed as a result of these quite simple words which had reached the hearts. From that moment on the audience was in his hands. Let us point out, however, that before the meeting there was some apprehension about it: there were rumors about obstructions which were allegedly being prepared by a group of anti-Soviet individuals. However, either the rumors were false (or perhaps deliberately started) or else these people did not risk setting themselves up against the overwhelming majority of the people at the meeting.

The first cosmonaut was able to influence what is described as mass mentality as he was able to influence the mentality of individuals.

Before the launching of Vostok-5 the number of all kinds of delays and defects (for some reason, at the cosmodrome such defects were known as "beans" if they were major and "small beans" if they were minor) exceeded all limits.

Shortly afterwards, while Bykovskiy was already in space, Titov was to say: "He experienced everything which, according to the law of probabilities, should have been divided into five." On the day of the launch, after the cosmonaut had taken his place and waited for the required 2 hours, the flight was postponed 30 minutes, then for 1 hour and then again.... All in all, as a result of unexpected and not immediately diagnosed difficulties, he was forced to wait for 5 (5!) tense pre-launch hours, never knowing whether or not the delay would be the last one or whether or not the launch would be aborted (or delayed which, actually, is one and the same). Valeriy withstood this stress which exceeded all limits brilliantly!

He was greatly helped in this by being in touch with cosmonaut Gagarin. Gagarin tried to distract him as best he could. He played music for him ("This is like a good restaurant: Tell us what to play for you"). At the beginning he would say lightly: "A small delay."

Later on, when the "small delays" were counted not in minutes but in hours, he would say:

"A little bit more patience."

He tried to joke:

"All you have to do is lie there! Here we are running around...."

It was only when the launch was imminent and the tower cable had already been removed that he said quite warmly, from the heart and meaningfully:

"We are proud of your endurance!"

Yes, Gagarin understood the human mentality and it was no accident that several years later he wrote, together with Dr V. I. Lebedev, the book

"Psikhologiya i Kosmos" [Psychology and Space]. Furthermore, he probably well remembered how in his own case it took two tries to close the entry hatch of the space ship.

After the hatch was closed behind Gagarin and all 30 bolts were tightened up the signal that the hatch was properly closed did not appear. The significance of an improperly closed hatch was obvious to all, long before an improper seal had cost the lives of cosmonauts G. T. Dobrovolskiy, V. N. Volkov and V. I. Patsayev, the crew aboard the Soyuz-11. However, the time was too short for lengthy considerations: the preparations were following a strict schedule so that the takeoff would be precisely at 0907. This was the time calculated according to the sun for the system of automatic landing of the ship after it had circled the globe.

Korolev, who was the head designer of the Vostok and was personally in charge of settling the cosmonauts in their ship, ordered:

"Unscrew the bolts. Open the hatch. Look carefully at the connections." He did not forget to warn the cosmonaut who, after seeing the hatch close, had already absorbed the idea that he would see people on the ground only after the flight. Suddenly the procedure with the hatch had to be repeated, something which was hardly a matter of indifference in terms of human nerves. Psychologists describe such things as a trauma.... In addition to the burden which, so to say, had been programmed and was based on the very nature of an assignment such as first flight into outer space, Gagarin had to experience unscheduled burdens as well. However, he withstood them perfectly. His answer to Korolev's announcement was brief. He calmly said: "Understood." Later on, in subsequent space flights by his comrades, when he himself was standing by the rocket holding a microphone, the recollection of the unexpected delay on the day of his own flight, I believe, greatly helped him to find the psychologically optimal tone for his conversation with the other cosmonauts, Bykovskiy in the case I mentioned.

Nevertheless, what about Gagarin's glory?

It seems to me that he lived with it quite easily. He never paraded it in front of anyone. Furthermore, whenever possible he tried to step aside in order to give more just credit to those whom he considered more worthy in this respect.

On the eve of his flight, addressing a meeting of the launching crew and all participants in the launch on the pad where the rocket already stood, Gagarin said: "We are all part of the same project, everyone in his place."

Later on as well, with the burden of worldwide fame on his shoulders, he firmly upheld this point of view. At one point he frankly said in an interview: "It is sometimes insulting when they talk about the cosmonauts, sing about the cosmonauts and write books and poems about them. Yet a cosmonaut is a person who completes the work of hundreds and thousands of other people. It is they who design the spaceship and its fuel, who prepare the entire complex for the flight. The time will come when we will become equally

familiar with their names..." (Let us recall that this was being said at a time when even S. P. Korolev and M. V. Keldysh were mysteriously and impersonally described as the Chief Designer and Cosmonautics Theoretician.)

Such was also Gagarin's behavior toward his fellow cosmonauts who flew after him.

I particularly remember a telecast in August 1962, after the simultaneous flights of A. Nikolayev and P. Popovich on the Vostok-3 and Vostok-4 spaceships. All four Soviet cosmonauts of that time were shown up on the television screens, sitting behind a small oval table: Gagarin, Titov, Nikolayev and Popovich. In his statement Gagarin stressed the fact that he was feeling "uncomfortable among his comrades: he had flown only one orbit compared to so many of theirs!" Naturally, he did not mention the fact that he was the first. Titov as well said a few equally emphatically modest words. Both of them would have obviously liked for this day not to celebrate them but their comrades Andriyan Nikolayev and Pavel Popovich, who had just landed from their space flights which, naturally, had been more complex than the previous ones. The first cosmonauts in the world were doing everything possible to stand aside and to see to it that they indeed stood aside.

Subsequently as well, Gagarin always tried not only not to stand out among his colleagues who had already made space flights and had become world-famous, but also among the young fliers who were entering the training center. To this day Hero of the Soviet Union Cosmonaut Yu. Glazkov recalls the warm, comradely support given to him by Gagarin at a difficult time: "...All that was left was a talk with the commission. I was clearly over-excited but Yuriy Alekseyevich helped me to calm down quite gently and unobtrusively."

Gagarin also totally rejected the prayerful-respectful attitude toward his own person, which excluded any possible joke about him.

On one occasion I witnessed his being told that the latest fashionable hairdo --pigtails with a bow on the side--was known as "Love Me, Gagarin!" He found this very funny and laughed without the slightest hint of complacency (look at how popular I am, they even name hairdos after me!) or, conversely, feeling any insult to his dignity (how could such a petty thing be linked to my name!). He simply laughed. He laughed because he found it funny. He laughed like the people around him....

Actually he did not respond so willingly to all jokes. He was not omnivorous in this respect. On one occasion he saw a cartoon in which he was shown standing by the blackboard and lecturing Herbert Wells, Aleksey Tolstoy and Jules Verne about space flights, telling them that things were not at all as they had described them, and Yura frowned: "Poor people, what would they do without me..."

No, worldwide fame did not hypnotize this man. He withstood its pressure.

And, something I consider quite important, he thus started a tradition according to which not one of our cosmonauts (today, thank God, there are



more than 50 of them) would show the inclination to "climb upon a pedestal" or, should such an inclination nevertheless appear, to refrain from doing so.

Actually, why just the cosmonauts? Obviously the power and importance of this example go far beyond the limits of cosmonautics in terms of moral influence on others! Therein, precisely, lies their value.

Several days before the launching of the Vostok the state commission met at the cosmodrome under circumstances more solemn than usual. Actually, the question of making Gagarin the main cosmonaut and Titov his backup had already been resolved. It was here, however, at the meeting that this was publicly announced. General Kamanin, who reported to the state commission the suggested first space crew, began by saying that all six cosmonauts, who had completed their instruction and training, were entirely ready for the flight but that one had to be appointed and that he recommended ....

Subsequently, Gagarin himself frequently remarked that the element of chance played a role in his appointment. Now, with hindsight, it would be senseless to argue against this statement by the first cosmonaut or to guess what dictated it: simple modesty or true conviction.

Later on, however, we heard (and even read) that there had never been a question of choosing one among the six (or rather, two: Gagarin and Titov). It was claimed that from the very beginning it was obvious that it would be Gagarin and no one else!... Actually, every one of the first "six" had his strong points and specific physiological, psychological and intellectual advantages. Therefore, a choice had to be made....

Actually, if we are entirely accurate and consider the entire story, it was necessary to choose not one of six people but of several thousand possible candidates, for it was precisely this number of young fighter pilots who had reached the primary selection stage after being examined by air force physicians Ye. A. Karpov, N. N. Gurovskiy and their colleagues. Gradually, in consecutive stages, most potential candidates were sifted out and when the first group of cosmonauts had been established, it consisted of 20 people. Of these 20 nearly half did not fly in outer space for a variety of reasons.

Therefore, there was a selection.... And, consequently, there was a choice.

When we look at a human destiny we frequently say: This man "is self-made." He was successful and achieved a position in life exclusively thanks to his abilities, energy and persistence.

Does this apply to Gagarin? In some respects yes, unquestionably. If we look at his biography we can easily see that at all turning points, from moulder to student in an industrial technical school, aeroclub trainee, and so on, through choosing an assignment in the rough conditions beyond the polar circle, they were all crossed by Gagarin on his own initiative and not at all "by the development of circumstances." He always knew what he wanted: what he wanted above all was to accomplish something really important, interesting,

needed by the homeland and demanding total dedication. No one influenced him. This, on the one hand.

On the other, however, we must take into consideration the fact that external circumstances and the mores and customs in our society not only did not hinder but directly contributed to the active life search by the young Gagarin. He did not have to waste any efforts to surmount artificial, external barriers. The absence of class, national, property or other advantages or, conversely, restrictions, is one of the principles of our society. Any violation of this principle is a direct violation of the Leninist norms! Society offered Gagarin, with his energy, purposefulness and natural gifts, all the necessary opportunity to make use of these features.

Another feature very typical of Gagarin, which is not only not lost but has even become particularly relevant today, was discipline. This was not only the ordinary discipline of a member of the military, for whom it is natural to obey precisely the orders of his superiors and who must have the equally strict ability to demand that his own orders be obeyed by his subordinates. This is not only the discipline of the professional flier who knows perfectly well the high cost of lack of discipline in the air. Naturally, Gagarin had all of this but he also had something greater: self-discipline.

He obeyed not only the letter but the spirit of the order. His understanding of discipline in the broad meaning of the term was reduced, in the final account, to doing his work well, with total dedication and responsibility! This is recalled by those who happened to be Gagarin's superiors, managers and instructors, as well as those whose chief, manager and instructor he was.

Many among those who saw and remembered the smiling Gagarin find it difficult to imagine him exacting and even strict. It is true that he was strict in the real meaning of the term. He never raised his voice at anyone and never humiliated anyone. At the Cosmonaut Training Center, Gagarin's colleagues tell the story that once, after he had already become deputy chief of the center, he summoned someone who had committed an infraction, looked at him and said: "I do not even want to talk with you!" It is self-evident that this quite original reprimand had a greater effect on the person than Gagarin's blowing up would have.

Today discipline in all of its manifestations--from going to work on time to proper fulfillment of contractual obligations--has become a national problem. This is demanded by life itself. This demand forces a great many people on all possible levels to change their ways, sometimes with a great deal of difficulty. In Gagarin's case it required no effort, it was simply unnecessary. Discipline was an organic part of his being.

During both his numerous trips abroad and at home Gagarin invariably spoke of the international importance of space flights. He considered the study of outer space an excellent area for the extensive and fruitful cooperation among peace-loving countries and peoples. It is difficult to forget such words today, when the Interkosmos program is being successfully implemented and when representatives of the socialist countries and France have flown aboard Soviet spaceships and when the flight of an Indian cosmonaut is being planned for the immediate future.

One after another, the Soviet space expeditions are distinguished by their great variety in terms of participants, specific scientific targets and duration. All of them, however, share the same characteristic feature: their tasks are peaceful. Our country actively opposes the militarization of space. Our main line, a line which does not apply to outer space alone, is one of not turning the great accomplishments of science and technology into threats to the people. Here is a characteristic detail: unlike most Western countries, the Soviet Union displays only civilian aircraft at the traditional aviation shows which take place twice annually at Le Bourget, the Paris airfield.

Space must remain peaceful! The first cosmonaut promoted as energetically as he could this mandatory prerequisite for a peaceful human life on earth. And he could do a great deal. The people listened to him and let us hope that they have not forgotten what he called for with his entire typical civic passion.

It is probably difficult for the members of the younger generations to imagine the impact which Gagarin's flight had on his contemporaries!

The public response to this flight naturally triggered some symptomatic exaggerations. A group of university students carrying a somewhat maximalistic poster reading "Everyone in Outer Space!" marched in a spontaneous demonstration across Red Square in Moscow on 12 April 1961. Even Sergey Pavlovich Korolev yielded somewhat to these moods by remarking, it is true, half-jokingly, that in a few years any trade union member armed with a travel voucher would be flying in outer space. Naturally, this was a joke but one which was in tune with the general mood.

Today space flights have changed. They are, above all, incomparably more practical, which, incidentally, had been predicted from the very beginning by Korolev and Keldysh and other leaders of the Soviet space program. Although this was predicted, it was mistrusted by many; it was more like a promotion of one's favorite cause. Yet this was an accurate scientific-technical and national economic prediction.

Yes, today the launching of a spaceship, even though manned, not to mention automated, is not considered a unique event. This is natural. Incidentally, the same has been observed for many other major human accomplishments such as, for example, the conquest (that is precisely the term initially used) of the North Pole. Half a century ago even flying over the Pole in an airship or an airplane was an event of universal significance, not to mention the landing made by I. D. Papanin, Ye. K. Fedorov, E. T. Krenkel' and P. P. Shirshov on the drifting polar station. Incidentally, the name of the station was "North Pole-1." Yet what reader could recall today the number of expeditions drifting on Arctic ice?...

Today outer space research is not only a manifestation and proof of the scientific and technical progress of mankind but, above all, something of practical use. Outer space flights are useful for cartography, meteorology, geology and many other areas of knowledge of vital importance to mankind. It is not without reason that when the program for the next space expedition is formulated (particularly after the creation of the Salyut space stations) the

number of "orders" placed by the various scientific organizations for needed experiments substantially exceeds the possibilities of even the longest expeditions lasting many months. It is not without reason that academician A. V. Sidorenko has said that "in virtually all directions of human knowledge cosmonautics today is making such radical changes that we can speak with full justification of a space revolution in technology and science."

However, with all the scientific importance of space research we must not ignore another one and by far not the least aspect of the matter: the influence of space flights on the human mind and soul, on the entire moral climate of society.

As Gagarin said at one time, in order to prevent space flights to be thought of as a rather easy and pleasant path to glory, their difficulties and occasional drama should not be taken lightly--for this rarely hits the target--but rather shown in detail. Only thus can they properly influence people. To realize this it would suffice to be in the audience leaving the Theater imeni Gogol' after seeing V. Gubarev's play "Landing Point Unknown," which was inspired by the actual circumstances of the difficult and almost tragic flight of cosmonauts N. Rukavishnikov and G. Ivanov; or else listen to the emotional exchange of views among readers of the essay by G. Bocharov "Return From Outer Space," published by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, which described the landing (or more accurately, the splashdown) of cosmonauts V. Zudov and V. Rozhdestvenskiy, which also had a successful ending thanks to the courage, self-control and ability to act with precision and skill in extreme circumstances, which was displayed by the cosmonauts themselves and by many of the ground service personnel. Naturally, the influence of these works of art and literature is explained above all by the fact that they were talented. This is unquestionable. Nevertheless, they were based on facts, facts which set that same moral example the power of which was mentioned at the beginning of this article.

Works such as Gubarev's play or Bocharov's essay should not remain the exceptions. The propaganda effect, in the best meaning of this term, of manned space flights and their influence on the people should be taken fully into consideration. Space flights generously offer all opportunities for this.... Here again Gagarin was right, absolutely right!

Human life is short even if it does not end as tragically early as that of Yuriy Gagarin, who lived for a short 34 years. Sooner or later, the physical existence of man on earth comes to an end.

However, there have been and are rare people whose lives go on after their deaths in the things they started, the traditions they initiated, the thoughts they expressed and the grateful memory of people of many subsequent generations.

Gagarin lives such a life.

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## WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS: PRESSING ISSUES

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[Article by Karl-Heinz Schroeder, member of the Presidium and Secretariat of the Board of the German Communist Party]

[Text] In connection with the peace-threatening deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles in the FRG and some other Western European countries, the U.S. criminal attack on Grenada, the continuing threats and acts of aggression on the part of U.S. imperialism against Nicaragua and Cuba, its "gunboat diplomacy" in the Middle East and open support of the military brigandage of the racist Republic of South Africa toward neighboring sovereign countries in southern Africa, the following question is frequently asked: does the concept according to which the ratio of forces in the world has changed in favor of socialism and social progress remain valid?

Both the objective factors which determine the nature of our age as an age of transition from capitalism to socialism and the specific developmental processes of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s do not substantiate the claim that the policy of confrontation pursued by imperialism is a sign of its strength and that historical initiative has shifted to imperialism. Regardless of individual failures and temporary defeats experienced by the progressive forces, imperialism has been unable so far nor will it be able in the future to achieve its class objectives.

This conclusion is supported by the following factors.

Let us note above all that unlike the capitalist countries, during the 1970s the socialist countries continued their successful development. They continued to develop despite the difficulties some of which were caused by the influence of the crisis in the global capitalist economy and problems related to the transition to intensive economic development and despite the grave errors in defining the ways for achieving an upsurge in the socialist economy as was the case in Poland. The economic base of the members of the socialist commonwealth broadened and increased its stability. The CEMA members, which account for 10 percent of the earth's population, account for 30 percent of the world's output of electric power, petroleum, natural gas, coal, steel and chemical fertilizers. The socialist commonwealth can meet 90 to 95 percent of its needs for energy and other vitally important raw materials from domestic production. The real income of the working people is rising steadily on the basis of dynamic economic progress and, although with great stress, social programs are being implemented.

As far as the capitalist world is concerned, as revealed above all by the U.S. example, it is in the throes of an increasingly deeper interweaving of cyclical crises and other phenomena which lead to a further aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism.

The aggravation of economic contradictions brought about an intensification of social antagonisms and, particularly, the spasmodic growth of mass unemployment. There are 33.5 million officially unemployed people in 24 industrially developed capitalist countries. By the end of 1983 unemployment had reached its highest level since the 1929-1933 world economic crisis. Almost 10 million people in the United States and 18 million in Western Europe are officially on record as unemployed. However, the true scale of this calamity is far broader. In the United States another 1.8 million people should be added to the unemployment figure. These are people who have "given up" and despairingly have stopped looking for work. Let us also add another 5.6 million partially employed, 32 million poor who are doomed to live below the poverty line and 2 million roofless people. As to the FRG, we must add nearly 800,000 people to the 2.5 million officially registered unemployed, not covered by statistics, and more than half a million partially employed people.

The increased armament race brought about the fact that the U.S. national debt has reached \$1.4 trillion. In order to cover growing military expenditures without, however, allowing an even faster increase in the national debt, the U.S. ruling circles mounted a broad offensive on the gains of the toiling people. Real wages dropped to the 1970 level. Taxes were lowered for big capital but increased for the income earned by the working people. Programs for social aid to the needy, including the poor, are being energetically thwarted.

A similar situation may be noted in the FRG. Nearly one-sixth of all federal expenditures--41 billion marks--will come this year from new state borrowing. The total amount of the debt has already exceeded 630 billion marks. The process is being further aggravated as the FRG is increasingly following the U.S. course of arms race and confrontation.

The fact that an approximate military equilibrium exists between the Soviet Union and the United States, which the Soviet Union was able to achieve and maintain unchanged, is of decisive significance in the changed ratio of forces in the world in favor of socialism and social progress. This circumstance limits the possibilities of the most aggressive imperialist circles who are relying on military power. It has become a decisive factor in the struggle for safeguarding peace on earth.

During the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s the world revolutionary movement experienced failures as a result of the counterrevolution in Chile, the occupation of Grenada by the United States and the weakening of the progressive forces within the PLO when, instead of fighting the common enemy, they began to fight each other.

However, our concept of the world around us would be faulty if we failed to note the successes achieved in the liberation struggle of the peoples. The



revolution won in Nicaragua and it is defending itself. The liberation struggle in El Salvador and other countries is developing. Democratic and anti-imperialist forces in Bolivia, Peru, Argentina and Mexico are making their way to peace, freedom and social progress with increasing confidence. As to Chile, everything indicates that the days of Pinochet's rule are numbered. The Grenadan revolutionaries as well will be able to learn from their errors.

In Asia U.S. imperialism suffered the worst military defeat in its history as a result of the victory of the peoples of Indochina. The revolution in Afghanistan won. Despite the very controversial nature of the Islamic revolution in Iran, it too was a defeat for U.S. imperialism, particularly if we consider that the shah's regime played an important part in U.S. strategy in the area.

An entire generation of new national liberation countries appeared in the African political arena, such as Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe and others which took a socialist path. In many of these countries vanguard parties are acting or being organized, which are adopting the Marx-Engels-Lenin theory as the ideological-political foundation for their activities.

The Palestine Liberation Organization was broadly recognized throughout the world as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Its friends everywhere express the hope that the PLO will be able to surmount the fratricidal weakening of its ranks (as a consequence of familiar internal events) and to regain its unity.

Although currently Europe is experiencing the particularly strong influence of the policy of confrontation pursued by the United States, the achievements of the 1970s were not lost.

As a result of the change in the ratio of forces in the world influential U.S. imperialist circles were forced to accept the process of detente in relations between socialist and capitalist countries, which began at the start of the 1970s, mainly on the European continent. Like the ruling circles of the FRG and of other imperialist countries, they naturally linked their own class considerations to this process.

In an effort to turn bad into good they set two objectives for their participation in the detente process: first, "bridge building" toward the socialist countries, which meant an effort to "soften them up" from within with a view to broadening the area of imperialist influence; secondly, the preservation of the "social status quo" which translated into simple terms meant the intention to restrain the further advance of the global revolutionary process. However, it became clear quite soon that imperialism was unable to attain these objectives. Even an adverse development of events such as what took place in Poland was quite indicative from the viewpoint of revealing the very limited opportunities of imperialism and the internal counterrevolution. As to the intention to block the advance of the forces of progress under the conditions of detente imperialist strategy clearly failed.

In the case of Europe, let us also add that the fascist regimes in Spain and Portugal were totally swept off and so was the dictatorship of the "black colonels" in Greece.

U.S. imperialism lost many of its positions to its principal imperialist competitors. Unquestionably, the United States remains the strongest imperialist country with the greatest political, economic, scientific and technical and military potential. However, its relative positions have weakened. Whereas in 1950 the United States accounted for nearly 50 percent of the industrial output of the developed capitalist countries, by 1982 it accounted for no more than 35.1 percent, i.e., for about one-third. The output of the EEC was approximately the same (35.4 percent), whereas that of Japan increased roughly from 7 to 16.3 percent between 1960 and 1982 alone.

The economic possibilities of the United States and the other imperialist countries in terms of the developing countries unquestionably remain quite high. That is why the economic liberation of these countries from imperialism may be a long and difficult process which, however, is developing irrepressibly. The newspaper UNSERE ZEIT was entirely correct when it wrote that "if we look at the 1970s--the decade of detente--we can say that except for the October Revolution in Russia and the world socialist system which was created after World War II, the global revolutionary process had never developed so rapidly as during that period."

That which the reactionary forces were unable to achieve with the slogan for preserving the "social status quo" during the period of detente they intend to achieve now by increasing their support of reactionary regimes in the world, pursuing their "gunboat diplomacy," the creation of "rapid deployment forces," military intervention and the deployment of new nuclear missiles. This is consistent with the concept of an "anticommunist crusade" proclaimed and currently implemented by the United States. It is obligingly supported by the right-wing coalition in Bonn, which claims (as was heard once again in the course of the missiles debate in the Bundestag), that the Soviet Union is "threatening" the peoples in the capitalist and Third World countries.

The central element of this policy is the enhanced importance ascribed to the military factor. Thus, as THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote in its 30 May 1983 issue, the Pentagons' directives for 1984-1988 rest on the idea of the "so-called decapitation..., which means striking at the political and military centers and communications facilities of the Soviet Union." Asked whether a nuclear war could be won, the American Vice-President Bush answered that "this requires ensuring the survival of command and control structures and the industrial potential, the protection of a certain civic potential and the ability to cause to the enemy greater damage than he could cause to you. This would determine the winner."

The exceptional danger of such plans is that they are being materially backed by a gigantic escalation of the arms race. In order to implement its ideas of waging nuclear war and winning it, the Reagan administration is trying to disturb the existing military and strategic parity and to regain its former military superiority over the Soviet Union. It is precisely in the light of

this course that we should consider the various "boycotts" it is launching and its attempts to thwart the "gas-pipes" deal between the FRG and the USSR as well as other trade agreements which provide the FRG with jobs, the CIA provocation involving the South Korean airplane, the criminal U.S. attack on Grenada and the present deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles in the Federal Republic and several other NATO countries.

This kind of policy increases the threat of war throughout the world. It could temporarily hold back social progress in one country or another. However, the laws of social development and the current actual ratio of forces in the world are such that nevertheless the people will be able to safeguard the peace and to achieve new successes in the liberation struggle.

The topical tasks of the global revolutionary movement, on the one hand, and the threat of war preached by the most reactionary imperialist forces, on the other, demand the further strengthening and broadening of peace movement, the exposure of imperialist preparations for war, the display of the policy of peace pursued by the socialist countries and the exposure of the connection between the arms race and the policy of dismantling social gains.

Greater solidarity must be shown with the peoples of Central America, Asia, Africa, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Why?

The threat of a nuclear war which hangs over the entire world should inspire the people--the communists above all--to adopt a new approach the main problems of social activity. Yu. V. Andropov accurately pointed out that "the communists have always fought the oppression and exploitation of man by man. Today they are also fighting for safeguarding human civilization and for the right of man to life." The 23 November 1983 declaration of the Presidium of the Board of the German Communist Party on the subject of the deployment of new U.S. missiles in the FRG states the following: "More than ever before today the forces of peace and common sense, the worker movement and the peace movement must jointly pursue the struggle for the preservation of life on earth... No peace is possible if the United States has offensive and first-strike weapons. The popular movement should struggle for ending the placement of missiles and removing those already deployed; for freezing the production, testing and deployment of all types of nuclear, chemical and biological mass destruction weapons...; for a treaty banning the first use of nuclear weapons and for concluding a treaty for nonaggression and abandoning the use of force between NATO and Warsaw Pact countries; for a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe and for creating conditions for a conversion to a nuclear-free Europe...."

The German Communist Party believes that without the communists the world peace movement would have been unable to reach its present strength. Differences in the evaluation of individual aspects of the international situation should in no case constitute an obstacle to joint international actions by broad political and social forces in the struggle for peace the world over. The international communist and worker movements are coming across difficult and unresolved problems, which is reflected on the level of activities of some communist parties in the struggle for peace. What does this

refer to? It refers to a certain unevenness, a slowness in the development of the antiwar struggle by one fraternal party or another; it refers to the penetration of false views within communist ranks according to which not only imperialism but socialism as well is to be held responsible for the increased tension; to occasional cases of insufficient solidarity between communist and socialist countries in connection with military aid given by these countries to Laos, Kampuchea, Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia. Some communists have begun to demand that the Soviet Union engage in unilateral disarmament.

Yet the concept of "anticommunist crusade" and the imperialist course of arms race and confrontation prove with extreme clarity who defends the peace and who creates a threat of war. Further arguments in this case would be unnecessary. Let us merely point out that the refusal clearly to expose the culprits for the arms race and the policy of war prevents the masses from realizing who is the warmonger and against whom one must struggle. This weakens both the masses themselves as well as the global movement for peace as a whole. It is precisely the duty of the communists to prove that imperialism and imperialism alone is the source of the growing threat of war and that the policy of war is inherent in capitalism while the policy of peace is inherent in socialism as a social system.

The critics of real socialism claim that although socialism does not have an economic incentive to pursue an expansionistic policy, communist ideology is aggressive in the sense that in the final account it is aimed at a global revolution or, more specifically (as claimed even by some communists), as "securing spheres of influence." The Soviet Union is groundlessly accused of engaging in a violent "export of revolution" and "suppressing peoples for the sake of ensuring its own sphere of security and influence," in reference to the support of the national liberation movement by the socialist states.

We shall not discuss the specific conditions which have created the need to use military force by the socialist countries. They have been largely and extensively described in *KOMMUNIST*. Let us merely add the following: in no such case has there been a question of imposing upon a country an alien social system or securing for the Soviet Union a "sphere of influence." To the contrary, the use of military force was necessary to protect the socialist and revolutionary-democratic gains of the peoples of these countries and for their protection from externally supported domestic counterrevolution or open aggression.

Socialism rejects the "export of revolution" in principle. Lenin wrote that "such a 'theory' is entirely at variance with Marxism, which has always rejected the 'urging on' of revolutions which develop with the increased gravity of class contradictions which cause revolutions" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, p 403). With the same firmness with which the communists reject the theory and practice of "export of revolution" they oppose any kind of "export of counterrevolution" with the help of which imperialism is trying, as is the case today in Grenada, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Mozambique and Angola, to drown in blood the struggle waged by the peoples for social progress. The firm defense of revolutionary gains and international solidarity with revolutionary forces are consistent with communist ideals. "Actually, where is it written that imperialists and other

reactionaries may be allowed jointly to oppress the peoples whereas the revolutionaries have no right to display mutual solidarity?" These were the words with which the position of the German Communist Party was formulated on the occasion of the adoption of the party's program at the Mannheim Congress by its chairman, Herbert Mies.

Let us now consider another problem. The resolve of the Soviet Union and its allied socialist countries to maintain the military equilibrium which has been reached and maximally to reduce its level and prevent the military superiority of the United States and NATO has nothing in common with any "threat." This resolve stems from the lessons of two world wars and a class, a scientific assessment of the nature of imperialism. Imperialism created Hitler and fascism. It did not stop at the use of an atom bomb against the civilian population in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. For the sake of its "global" objectives and so-called "vital interests," U.S. imperialism undertook the mass destruction of people in Vietnam and the Middle East and the commission of monstrous crimes in Chile, El Salvador, Nicaragua and other countries. Readiness to do everything possible to suppress socialism is manifested quite clearly in the long-drawn-out policy of American imperialism toward Cuba, the current occupation of Grenada and the threat of aggression against Nicaragua. Imperialism is trying to prescribe what should happen in Poland and Afghanistan and the way the population of these countries should behave at home. It demands of the Soviet Union a "proper" behavior--proper from the imperialist viewpoint--in Africa and other parts of the world. Aggressive imperialism is answering Soviet disarmament initiatives with an accelerated arms race. The Soviet Union unilaterally rejected the first use of nuclear weapons. During the Geneva medium-range missile talks, once again unilaterally it abandoned the further deployment of nuclear weapons in the European part of the Soviet Union and proclaimed its rejection of deploying nuclear, biological and chemical weapons in outer space. In its time the Soviet Union took a unilateral step by withdrawing from the GDR 20,000 soldiers and 1,000 tanks. However, the United States and the other NATO members are not even giving the appearance of a positive reaction to all such steps taken by the USSR. To the contrary, they took the decision and practically undertook to deploy new missiles in Europe and are also increasing the conventional armaments race.

Confronted by such a policy, could the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries begin to disarm unilaterally, which is what the United States actually pursued at the Geneva talks which, in the final account, it thwarted? Or else can anyone seriously believe that imperialism has any kind of morality as generally understood and that all that is needed is the "contagious examples" of the Soviet Union to begin voluntarily to disarm?

The Soviet Union would like to disarm, as confirmed above all by its proposals. It firmly opposes the development of a new round in the arms race. However, both its own experience and the experience of the West German communists proved that the military equilibrium between socialism and imperialism was and remains a decisive prerequisite for peaceful coexistence and the prevention of nuclear war. Similar experience has been gained by the liberation movements as well. "The entire socialist camp, Africa, Latin America and Asia must realize, in the final account, that a strong Soviet Union is



the only guarantee for a lasting peace," said Dr Zwobgo, the representative of Zimbabwe at the international scientific conference in Berlin on the occasion of the Year of Karl Marx. "Anything else is self-delusion. I saw in the Wanki Reserve in the western part of Zimbabwe a lion who was peaceably drinking water alongside rabbits and other small game in times of drought. If the weaker beasts think that the lion has become peaceful they are wrong. The lion will become merciless whenever needed. We must tell the capitalist world that a nuclear war will not spare stockholders. It would not spare their stock exchanges and Swiss bank accounts or houses on the Riviera and in Hollywood, and that the fiery storm will destroy everything, as it will destroy us, the 'wretched of the earth' in the Third World. However, discussions alone will not help them to understand this. The only hope for peace is the existence of the strong nuclear potential of the Soviet Union, which guarantees the destruction of the aggressor. This is the only 'stable currency' in safeguarding peace. That is why we supported the position held by the USSR in Geneva. Even those who are not friends of the Soviet Union and who are pursuing their strictly personal objectives cannot ignore this fact."

Yes, the cause of peace would not advance from a renunciation by socialism of maintaining a military equilibrium. This would be the equivalent of playing into the hands of the aggressive imperialist circles who are concocting delirious plans for the use of first-strike nuclear weapons for the sake of winning a victory.

The West German communists agree with those who believe that the increased threat of war and its nature imperatively demand the intensification of communist efforts in all countries in the struggle for safeguarding peace and increasing communist cooperation on a global level. The consideration by the individual countries of their national conditions and interests does not conflict with the common broad interests in the defense of peace. The communists must approach from class positions the understanding of their role as the most consistent antiwar force. This approach is becoming increasingly important. It is also clear that the task of preventing war and the arms race calls for the unification and solidarity among all supporters of peace on the national and international levels but, above all, naturally, by the communists themselves.

U.S. imperialism is committing aggressions against peoples in Central America, Asia and Africa which have rejected bloody dictatorships and oppression and wish to build their futures by themselves. To display solidarity with them as a structural aspect of the peace movement means not only to assist the cause of peace but to defend the rights of peoples to national sovereignty and social progress. In particular, this refers to preventing the United States from launching its planned aggression by showing active solidarity with Nicaragua.

It is no accident that the "crusade against communism," which is actually conceived of as a crusade against anything progressive in the world, is directed above all and mainly against the Soviet Union, objectively the most powerful force in the struggle for peace and social progress. The "anti-communist crusade" is not only one of the most disgusting delirious concepts



ever known to history, but has also been elevated by the United States and some of its allies to the rank of state doctrine, which makes it particularly dangerous. As was the case after the October Revolution, when the imperialist countries attacked the young republic in order to deal with the Soviet system, and as was the case with the attack by Hitlerite fascism of the Soviet Union, today as well we must firmly show our solidarity with the USSR and the other socialist countries. This solidarity is an important structural component of the struggle for social progress and peace. It is precisely this kind of position, rather than the aspiration to "distance oneself" from the Soviet Union, not to mention the support of counterrevolutionary forces in the socialist countries, such as the "Charter-77" in Czechoslovakia or "Solidarity" in People's Poland, that is the revolutionary position and the behavioral norm of the communists.

Quarrels with and hostility toward the Soviet Union and even more so a war against it have never been consistent with the national or international interests of the German people. The peaceful future of the people of the FRG is inconceivable without peaceful relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. Bearing in mind the lessons of history, the West German communists favor peaceful cooperation between the FRG and the USSR and friendly relations between the peoples of our countries.

The international communist movement has developed into the most influential political force in the struggle for peace and social progress. It numbers about 100 parties in its ranks. In the socialist countries the communists are the leading force in building the new society. In many countries the communists are struggling for turning the communist parties into mass parties. The ideas of scientific socialism are playing an increasing role among the participants in the national liberation movements.

In recent years the communist parties in various countries have acted energetically as a national and international force. This has been reflected in the course of a number of bilateral and multilateral meetings among fraternal parties. Meetings of leaders of fraternal parties of the members of the socialist commonwealth and contacts among secretaries of central committees of the parties in these countries, dealing with international and ideological problems, have become regular. Extensive contacts are maintained among the fraternal countries of Middle Eastern and Latin American countries. In recent years a number of international meetings have been held by representatives of communist and worker parties, liberation movements and national democratic states and socialist and social democratic parties. Let us note the great importance of the international theoretical conference which was held in Sofia in June 1982 on the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov's birth and the 1983 International Scientific Conference held in Berlin on the occasion of the 165th anniversary of the birth and centennial of the death of Karl Marx. The conference became a major international forum in which 145 delegations from 111 countries participated.

A characteristic feature of all these meetings was the fact that attention was focused on the struggle for peace. In several cases agreement on joint actions was reached. This deserves an exceptionally high rating.

However, a great deal remains to be done to strengthen the joint struggle. We are following with interest and a feeling of participation the course of the discussions on the international solidarity among communists and their internationalist policy and practices which are currently expressed through different terms.

Thus, in expressing their attitude toward the subject of the discussion, the absolute majority of fraternal parties speak of their support of "proletarian internationalism." The concept of "cooperation in the spirit of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin" is widespread. However, some fraternal parties claim that proletarian internationalism has become "obsolete" and is allegedly too "narrow" when it should be a question of extensive international cooperation or, in other words, a "new internationalism." Some fraternal parties who support this viewpoint have steadily opposed international meetings by communists and have not participated in them in recent years. To a certain extent, such a position should be considered a manifestation of ideological views. Essentially, they are trying to say that the renovating revolution, the revolutionary motive force in the struggle for socialism which appeared as a result of the October Revolution has now lost its significance. Naturally, formulations and definitions play a part. In this case, however, it should be a question above all not of terminological fine points but the essence of phenomena--international solidarity of the communist and worker movements, the need to strengthen its international role in the common struggle waged by the peoples for peace, national independence and social progress and the strengthening of international solidarity among them. Proletarian internationalism and international class solidarity do not mean lack of solidarity with all other anti-imperialist forces and the forces of democracy and peace but the broadening of their boundaries, expressing the common basic interests, mutual aid and unity of action among working people of all countries in the struggle for safeguarding our planet and for a future worthy of man. For the communists and all conscientious workers proletarian internationalism and international solidarity are manifested today, we believe, in a clear class approach to the problem of war and peace, in class solidarity with the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist commonwealth and in class solidarity in support of all nations waging a liberation struggle against imperialism. It is manifested in the class solidarity of interaction among workers and all working people in the capitalist countries, aimed at preventing the monopolies from shifting to them the burdens of military expenditures, the slogan of "jobs and not missiles" and social progress.

Proletarian internationalism rests on an objective foundation. It appeared and developed on the ground of the essential commonness of the basic and ultimate interests of the workers in all countries.

Those who believe that proletarian internationalism is "obsolete" today should be asked the following: Has the objective foundation of this leading principle of the international worker movement disappeared? Is the international working class no longer confronting the common enemy--international capital? Or else, perhaps, has the class struggle lost its international character? It would be quite difficult to deny this.

The internationalization of economic and political life and of the class struggle is taking place today at a faster pace than at any other time in history. International monopoly capital is increasingly uniting in its struggle against socialism, the national liberation movement and the working class in the capitalist countries. This is clearly exemplified by the expanded activities of imperialist bloc organizations such as NATO and the European economic communists, the multinational concerns and, not least, the military concerns, as well as the unification of big capital parties represented in international organizations.

Under present-day circumstances the success or failure of the struggle for peace and social progress also increasingly depend upon the solidarity among workers and working people in all countries. Were the revolutionary worker movement to abandon proletarian internationalism or, more accurately put, its essence, the result would be a self-disarming of the international working class in the face of the continuing rearming of the international bourgeoisie.

It is precisely because proletarian internationalism is a major factor in the sociopolitical ratio of forces in the world, the base of the international force of the communists and the core of their outlook that our enemies are trying to displace the communist and worker parties from their internationalist positions and to hinder their unity of action. While Christian democratic, liberal and conservative parties are doing everything possible to unite within international coordination centers with a view to supporting big capital and while the social democrats are broadening their Socialist International, everything possible is being done to divide the communist parties and the forces of progress related to them.

Let us emphasize that the aggravation of the international class struggle in all areas demands of the universal communist and worker movements to strengthen their international solidarity. "The great unifying principle and powerful factor in the further unification and growth of the prestige of the global communist movement rest in the systematic struggle waged by the communists for peace and against the aggressive policy of imperialism and the arms race which threatens the peoples with nuclear catastrophe." We share this conclusion formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress. The urgent need to intensify cooperation among communists does not contradict in the least their interaction with other peace-loving, democratic and progressive forces but, conversely, substantially contributes to such interaction.

As the 7th German Communist Party Congress proved, our party is doing everything possible to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the world communist movement in both practical and theoretical activities. We are convinced that thanks to our own efforts the three main revolutionary flows of our time--real socialism, the worker movement in the developed capitalist countries and the national liberation movement, which is a movement for peace, freedom and social progress--will achieve new successes.

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## STRUCTURAL CRISIS OF THE CAPITALIST ECONOMY

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[Article by Prof S. Men'shikov, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] The study of the contradictions within the contemporary capitalist economy has always been the focal point of attention of Marxist-Leninist thinking. This has never been nor could it be limited merely to the vicissitudes of cyclical reproduction. The mechanism of periodically alternating declines and upsurges has worked uninterruptedly since 1825, i.e., for over 150 years. Beginning with the 1970s, however, this old cyclical fever has been most closely interwoven with long-term structural crises affecting the capitalist economy. It is precisely this which allows us to speak today of a continuing structural crisis of the capitalist economy after the last cyclical production decline was surmounted.

The most profound cyclical crises after World War II in 1973-1975 and 1980-1982 left behind a heavy burden of unsurmounted conflicts and unresolved problems. The production upturn which began in 1983-1984 is extremely uneven and one-sided. According to official statistical data, unemployment at the beginning of 1984 accounted for 8 percent of the total manpower in the United States and an average of 10 percent in Western Europe. By the middle of 1984 total unemployment in the industrially developed capitalist countries will exceed 33 million people. According to trade union data it is considerably higher for the simple reason that it also includes those who are no longer hoping to find jobs on the labor market. What is particularly important is the fact that a significant percentage of such unemployment is structural, long-term, the result of the constant closing down of old enterprises, terminating old production lines and eliminating manpower as a result of installing new labor-saving equipment. The removal of manpower inherent in capitalist production is currently manifested to its fullest extent.

Even under the conditions of a cyclical revival major sectors remain as before in a state of deep crisis and stagnation. The situation in sectors such as ferrous metallurgy, the automobile industry, shipbuilding and the chemical and textile industries differs from one country to another. However, virtually everywhere it is characterized by cuts in production facilities, layoffs of new groups of workers and a considerable lag in the volume of output compared with the maximal level reached during the 1970s.

The cyclical crises have also left unresolved the problem of huge budget deficits reaching as high as 5-10 percent or more of the gross national

product. In the United States the federal budget deficit this year will be as high as \$200 billion, i.e., almost as much as planned expenditures for the arms race. Defense costs, which are an unbearable economic burden, are now financed mostly by printing money and increasing governmental indebtedness. The pillars of "Reaganomics" and "Thatcherism" see "nothing unusual" in this; the existence of budget deficits running into the billions and of a multi-million-strong reserve labor army are considered by them necessary prerequisites for the blossoming of monopoly capital. In terms of real reproduction, however, they contain the threat of new upheavals.

Budget deficits leave the door to inflation open and the "drafts" which stay in a constant state of feverishness the money markets and financial capital absorb a significant share of the available capital which, under normal circumstances, would go to material production. The flabbiness of capital investments continues to worry the observers of the economic weather, who are predicting the possibility of a new decline as early as 1985. Not one of them dares to proclaim an end to the lengthy period of slow development characteristic of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s in all Western countries without exception.

Nor is there an end to complaints about the growing external debts of the developing countries, which has now reached \$700 billion. The magic circle of international indebtedness, as the experience of the 1930s proved, threatens countries with mass bankruptcy and contributes to the catastrophic drop in production. The capitalist centers and outlying areas are linked with a monetary chain the solidity of which is hardly infinite.

The fact that the capitalist economy is experiencing long-term crises in a variety of areas is today unquestionable. However, the important theoretical and methodological question which should be asked is the following: Are all such crises separate and isolated phenomena or rather organic parts of a single entity--an overall structural crisis of the capitalist economy? We believe that preference should be given to the second, the broader formulation of the question.

Actually, the processes which are taking place in the capitalist economy prove that the existing economic structure, taken in the broadest possible meaning of the term, is being questioned. No further progress is possible without a profound, even a radical breakdown of the current sectorial production structure and the entire system of intersectorial and technological relations of the existing neocolonialist division of labor between industrially developed and developing countries, the old methods of monopoly production concentration and the existing methods of state-monopoly regulation of the economy. The disparity between the old economic structure and the need to develop production forces and the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution are expressed in a drastic decline in the general rates of economic growth, a slowdown of technical progress and a lengthy and steady increase in unemployment. The structural crisis is manifested also in the stagnation of a number of leading sectors on the scale of the entire capitalist economy, the crisis afflicting large economic areas and entire countries and the lengthy disturbance of trade and redistribution (monetary circulation, inflation, currencies and state finances).



It would be erroneous to deny the specific nature of these varieties of manifestations of the structural crisis. However, nor should we ignore the fact that each one of them is closely related to the others, is nurtured by the others and interacts with the overall development of the economy.

Let us take as an example the crisis in ferrous metallurgy. Naturally, it is largely due to the specific nature of the sector which has been forced to retreat in the face of the competition of plastics, lightweight metals and other stronger, less expensive materials. It is equally unquestionably, however, that the steel crisis is a reflection above all of the general stagnation in capital construction, the modernizing of machines and equipment and the drastic drop of the average rates of production growth of the entire economy and, consequently, a drop in the overall need for construction materials. The crisis was also the result of the end of the stage of the technical revolution in which the need for all materials (not only steel) was huge and the transition to forms of technical progress in which the emphasis was put on products with less material-intensiveness.

The specifics of the energy crisis are something else. For many decades through the efforts of the international petroleum monopolies the low price of liquid fuel was maintained. The need for petroleum increased dramatically, intensified by the lengthy period of high economic activities, the reorganization of the economy to energy-intensive production and consumption and the decline of the old energy industry based on coal. Gradually the need for petroleum began to outstrip extraction possibilities (at the then price ratio). After the prices of liquid fuel finally rose, quite drastically and spasmodically, the result was an extremely painful and lengthy adaptation of the capitalist economy to the new circumstances. The energy crisis dragged on and assumed new forms related not only to the difficulties of developing the power industry itself but the overall condition of the economy, its slowdown growth and the vagueness of its future.

To sum it up, the conclusion is that the structural crisis covers a great variety of externally heterogeneous but actually closely interrelated crises, phenomena and processes within the capitalist economy.

As to radical changes in the economic structure, it should not be expected that they could be made within a short time. Therefore, the common feature of all the manifestations of the structural crisis is that phenomena of lengthy stagnation, relative or absolute decline and painful adaptation to new circumstances exceed the duration of a single industrial cycle, i.e., a period of 8 to 10 years.

There is an interesting excerpt in Marx's "Theory of Added Value," which describes the various means of surmounting reproduction contradictions: short and relatively weak declines; cyclical and stronger crises; finally, long-term crisis processes which are resolved in the course of several cycles. "...Uniform or identical reproduction," Marx writes, "or repetition of the production process under the same circumstances does not exist in reality. Productivity changes, and so do production conditions. In turn, the conditions change productivity. The result of this disparity is manifested partially in superficial fluctuations which become equalized within a short time



and partially in the gradual accumulation of divergences which either result in a crisis, a seemingly coerced return to previous relations or which only gradually make their way and are recognized as changes in production conditions" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 26, part III, pp 544-545).\*

Naturally, the time for surmounting one manifestation of the structural crisis or another may vary; some such manifestations may cover two or more cycles while others are longer and virtually chronic.

In the course of its existence capitalism has experienced several structural crises affecting its entire economy, each one of which was related to the breakdown of the old structure which had become inconsistent with the level of development reached by its production forces. The transition from manual to factory work, the popularization of the shareholding form of ownership, conversion to the monopoly stage, growth of state-monopoly regulation and the appearance of the multinational form of state-monopoly capitalism were all brought to life by the objective need to surmount the latest structural crisis of the economy. In other words, structural crises are caused by the basic contradiction within capitalism and are manifestations of its historical dynamics.

In the epoch of the general crisis of capitalism structural crises have assumed an additional historical function. They help not only to change forms of production relations within the system itself but gradually to press it back in the course of its historical competition with growing socialism and its retreat under the pressure of the various forces of the global revolutionary process. In other words, today they are a powerful factor leading to the appearance of new stages in the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism.

It is not the purpose of this article to analyze all forms and manifestations of the structural crisis. We shall discuss in greater detail the reasons for the overall slowdown of economic growth, for it is precisely this aspect of the matter which largely determines the development of the other manifestations of the structural crisis. We shall discuss in particular one of the main direct reasons for this slowdown--the reduced pace of technical progress during the 1970s and 1980s compared to previous periods. V. I. Lenin frequently pointed out the uneven and spasmodic nature of scientific and technical progress during the epoch of imperialism. On the one hand, any monopoly triggers a trend toward stagnation. On the other hand, aggravated competition and the tremendous scale of the trusts determine the trend toward accelerated technical development. The reality of capitalism is such that in the struggle between the two trends either one or the other gain the upper hand. Correspondingly, periods of accelerated technological development on a social scale alternate with periods of general slowdown. "Naturally, the possibility of reducing production costs and increasing profits with the introduction of technical improvements operates in favor of changes. However, the trend toward stagnation and decay, which is inherent in the monopolies, remains

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\* Subsequent references to the works of K. Marx and F. Engels will be indicated by volume and page only.

effective and takes the upper hand in some industrial sectors and individual countries for certain lengths of time" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 27, p 397).

In analyzing the establishment of the monopoly stage of capitalism, Lenin pointed out the lengthy depression experienced by the capitalist economy following the 1873 crisis and through the mid-1890s. This lengthy depression was replaced by a noticeable acceleration in the growth of reproduction at the very end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Lenin related this period to the conversion of the monopolies into the basis of all economic life (*ibid.*, pp 316-317). This, as we know, was followed by a period of lengthy relative stagnation and decline (the 1920s-1930s). The economic growth of capitalism was accelerated once again during the 1940s-1960s. As the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum pointed out, during the postwar period capitalism "was able to maintain a relatively stable development." This period was related to a general dissemination of methods of state-monopoly control. However, it was replaced by another decline, when it became clear that "imperialism is incapable of dealing with the social consequences of a scientific and technical revolution of unparalleled depth and scale."

The question of the ebbs and flows of scientific and technical progress is a basic problem the solution of which determines the assessment of the overall prospects for the development of capitalism for decades in advance. Today, as in the past, this problem has become the subject of a sharp theoretical struggle. Articles and monographs on the "long waves" in the economy have appeared in Western economic publications. Depending on the political position of their authors they are given different interpretations and include various recommendations for the policy to be pursued by the bourgeois countries. This includes the extremely conservative evaluations of W. W. Rostow, the noted theoretician and political "hawk" (United States), the pragmatic concept expressed by G. Mensch (FRG), the leftist-liberal analysis by K. Frieman (Great Britain) and the mathematical model of "systemic dynamics" of J. Forrester (United States).

Foreign Marxists T. Kuchinskiy (GDR) and P. Boccara (France) have studied the long waves. In their works the current slowdown in the capitalist economy is considered within the context of the intensification of the general crisis of the capitalist system.

It is usually accepted in Western literature that the idea of the existence of lengthy fluctuations in the capitalist economy was initially expressed in Marxist literature at the turn of the century. In 1901 first Parvus, who was then affiliated with the left wing of the German social democratic movement, then the Dutch van Gelderen and de Wolf, who formulated the stipulation that inherent in capitalism are alternating periods of relatively faster and slower growth. Parvus, whose works of that time Lenin praised, explained the periods of acceleration with the intensive development of new economic territories, increased gold extraction and new major technical discoveries. Subsequently Parvus took the position of extreme chauvinism and greatly compromised his scientific reputation.

In the mid-1920s N. D. Kondrat'yev, who was at that time head of the Market Conditions Institute of the People's Commissariat of Finance, formulated in the Soviet Union his theory of the "big situation cycles." Unlike his predecessors, he claimed that the lengthy fluctuations covering periods of 50 to 60 years have a proper cyclical nature. Kondrat'yev classified as reasons for the "large cycles" the factors already noted by Parvus and the long time needed for renovating long-term equipment, wars, revolutions, agrarian crises and alternating periods of relative surplus or scarcity of lending capital.

N. D. Kondrat'yev's concept was sharply criticized by the Soviet economists. However, during the 1930s and 1940s it became a structural component of a number of Western theories which explained the particular gravity of the crises and depressions which preceded World War II. It was developed most extensively in the works of the noted Austrian economist J. Schumpeter who, in his explanations of the "large cycle," emphasized the activities of capitalist entrepreneurs in using technical innovations. In the postwar decades interest in "Kondrat'yev's cycles" experienced a long decline and was revived only during the 1970s as a result of the new intensification of the contradictions in the capitalist reproduction system. Many of today's works published in the West on this topic largely repeat the arguments and hypotheses expressed by Kondrat'yev.

Almost 60 years have passed since the debates which developed on the "large situation cycles." During that time a tremendous amount of data has been acquired covering more than half a century of exceptionally tempestuous and conflicting development of capitalism in the epoch of its general crisis. We have also gained greater knowledge about the history of capitalist reproduction in the 19th and first third of the 20th centuries. All this enables us to evaluate more accurately the problem of lengthy fluctuations in reproduction and technical progress.

As to the facts, no two views are possible. During the 1920s the then-scarce factual data enabled us to note more or less accurately no more than the existence of lengthy fluctuations in commodity prices and interest rates. All researchers had were fragmentary data on material production. Today the scientists have at their disposal 100 years of statistical series on national products, labor productivity, capital and profit by groups of leading capitalist countries and data on industrial production by individual country or even longer periods.

Even without delving into ancient history it is becoming clear that over the past 100 years alone, as we pointed out, the capitalist economy as a whole has experienced several consecutive periods of fast and slow development. Consequently, the main problem now lies not in the fact of the uneven dynamics of capitalist reproduction and technical progress but the theoretical interpretation of this phenomenon and the political conclusions which may be drawn from such interpretations.

The works of Western scientists frequently include apologetic interpretations of the "large cycles." Naturally, many of them deem it suitable to reduce

the current set of contradictions within the capitalist economy to the combination of short-term, medium-term, half-a-century and even longer ebbs and flows of the market situation. This makes it possible to bypass the basic problems of the general crisis of capitalism of the system, the class struggle and socioeconomic and political contradictions and to turn the attention to technology, demography, ratios between prices of raw materials and finished products and other relatively individual problems.

Some students of the long waves also ignore or belittle the role of the laws governing cyclical reproduction and the dissolution of regular economic crises into long-term fluctuations of the economic situation. This shortcoming is typical of E. Mandel (Belgium), a supporter of the "neo-Marxist" trend. He actually denies the cyclical nature of the capitalist economy in the period between the 1930s and the 1970s. However great the lengthy fluctuations in the pace of technical progress and the growth of material production may have been, they can neither displace nor replace the periodical recurrence of overproduction crises which, as Marx said, represent the explosion of all capitalist contradictions. Such crises, which lead to the absolute drop in production (and not merely to a reduction in the growth rates) are felt by the working class directly and most strongly through mass layoffs, closing down of enterprises, reduced real income, and increased unemployment and poverty. Naturally, the lengthy fluctuations in the rates of production growth also influence the course of the economic cycle and the depth and length of the "forced idleness" and deprivations which afflict the working people. However, lengthy fluctuations cannot either surmount nor temporarily terminate the cyclical fever inherent in capitalism. This was confirmed specifically by the experience of postwar decades which included countries with the highest pace of development.

It would be entirely theoretically and politically erroneous, therefore, to pit the "large situation cycles" against the ordinary economic cycles or to allow any lack of clarity in this matter. However, this does not mean in the least that the Marxists should avoid problems of lengthy fluctuations, i.e., to surrender the battlefield to the theoretical and ideological enemy.

The starting theoretical concepts which enable us to determine the nature of the lengthy fluctuations in reproduction and technical progress and to understand more profoundly the foundations of the contemporary structural crisis are found in Marx's works. We believe that the participants in the discussion on the "large situation cycles" in the 1920s made a grave error by virtually ignoring or circumventing Marx's theory of the lengthy structural contradictions in capitalist reproduction. For example, they presented as a discovery the existence of material foundations for lengthy fluctuations consisting of the long term of recovery of some components of basic capital and a certain periodical nature of concentration of technical discoveries and new developments. Marx, however, had not only seen these processes but had also comprehensively explained them long before Parvus and Kondrat'yev.

Thus, having reached his now-familiar conclusion of the material foundation of the periodical nature of crises, he pointed out quite definitely that in this case he had in mind above all the active share of basic capital, i.e.,

the capital invested in machines and equipment. Immediately afterwards, literally on the next page of his work ("Das Kapital," Volume II) he cited data on the different times of turnover of capital invested in tools and machinery (5-10 years) and capital invested in buildings, roads and irrigation systems (20-50 years), emphasizing that such differences were based on the nature of capital (see vol 24, p 209). In his special study of capital recovery functioning "in terms of buildings, railroads, canals, and so on, exclusively as a general prerequisite of the independent production process" (vol 49, p 394), Marx pointed out that in this case the recovery "becomes a value which comes virtually down to zero" (vol 24, p 202). Such parts of basic capital do not have to be replaced in each cycle.

Marx also realized the tremendous importance of the mass renovation of capital with a long service life. In studying the consecutive stages of the industrial revolution between the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century, he especially pointed out the "revolution in the general conditions of the public production process," i.e., in transportation and communications and its feedback on the entire process of reproduction and technical progress. "... The tremendous railroad construction," he wrote, "and ocean shipping brought to life the type of huge machines which are used in the construction of prime movers" and, consequently, which led to the development of an essentially new sector--machine production of machines (see vol 23, p 396).

However, Marx did not at all overestimate the significance of the individual components of basic capital in periodical reproduction fluctuations. He ascribed significantly greater attention to the role of technical progress and the consequent changes in the structure of capital and the profit norm. Unlike subsequent long-wave theoreticians, however, he did not relate technical progress only to long-term fluctuations but identified its organic link with the cycle and the structural reproduction processes. "Thanks to industrial progress," he emphasized, "labor tools are usually the subject of constant changes. That is why they are replaced not in the initial but the changed form" (vol 24, p 191). Consequently, each new cycle is the next stage of technical progress and the development of production forces. However, this is not an even homogeneous movement, monotonously repeated from cycle to cycle. Marx distinguished between an intensive development, "when more efficient production means are applied" and extensive movement, when "the area of production alone expands" on the basis of an already reached technical foundation.

In some of the cycles minor modifications and modernizations of already existing equipment and technologies predominate and the new varieties of machines replace older, similar machines. In other cycles more profound changes are noted: one technological generation replaces another. Finally, in others again essentially new equipment and technology begin to be applied and the beginning of a technical revolution is laid. Such a revolution spreads like a chain reaction from one sector to another, encompassing the entire public reproduction system and radically changing its technical base. It is precisely during these periods that the basic capital invested in the "general reproduction conditions," i.e., in transportation, communications, long-term production systems, the production of basic construction materials and



energy carriers, is radically replaced. Such a transition may take several decades. Special consideration should be given to the profound changes in the manpower and the ways and means of labor and production organization related to such changes.

According to Marx, the qualitative leaps in the quantitative evolution of equipment take place both within the cycle and beyond it with a certain repetitiveness. "... There are intervals," he wrote, "during which technical changes are less sensitive and accumulations consist mainly of quantitative expansions on the basis of a newly laid technical foundation. In such cases, whatever the real structure of capital may have been, a law is manifested to a greater or lesser extent according to which demand for labor increases in the same proportion as that for capital. At the same time, however, as the number of workers recruited by capital reaches its maximum the products become so abundant that even the slightest obstruction in marketing them appears to stop the social mechanism; immediately labor is expelled by capital on a tremendous scale and most violently; this disturbance imposes upon the capitalists extreme efforts to save on labor. The gradually acquired detailed improvements are concentrated, so to say, under this high pressure; they are embodied in technical changes which revolutionize the structure of capital along the entire periphery of large production areas" (vol 49, pp 220-221).

Consequently, the slowdown of technical progress (Marx's "intervals") creates an entire set of contradictions which can be resolved only through a new acceleration of technical progress and a new technical revolution. Technical revolutions bring to life new sectors and accelerate the overall pace of reproduction. However, as the new sectors become established, technical changes become less sensitive and more commonplace. Once again this slows down reproduction and leads to lengthy periods of crisis and depressions. Technical progress focuses on manpower savings. A "high pressure" of over-accumulated capital and mass unemployment develops which once again makes a revolution in the technical base necessary. The cycle is thus completed. By this Marx means the motion which goes beyond the limits of an ordinary cycle. The new sectors are not created in a few years and the consequent change in phases of different intensiveness and trend of technical progress cannot fit within the limits of a single decade.

The long-term fluctuations of technical progress are reflected in the structure of capital. The excerpt we cited shows that Marx considers the increase in the organic structure of capital a trend operating at intervals. On the one hand, "the simple quantitative expansion of factories absorbs both the laid-off and new workers" (vol 23, p 465). On the other hand, at a certain stage of the technical revolution, when saving on labor and materials becomes the main trend of technical progress, labor productivity outstrips capital intensiveness and the elements of permanent capital become cheaper at a faster rate. Marx singled out the various means for "economy obtained as a result of the steady improvement of machines" so that "their value, although growing in absolute terms, declines in relative terms compared to the increased output and size of variable capital or the manpower mass brought into motion." He also noted the "economy achieved as a result of inventions" (vol 25, part I, pp 92, 94, 115).



Marx also especially dealt with the "transitional fluctuations" in the effect of the law of the declining trend of the profit norm. As a result of the set of counteracting factors, this trend "clearly operates only under certain circumstances and over long periods of time" (ibid., pp 239-262). Not limiting himself to the theoretical consideration of the problem, he mentions three specific historical periods in the development of England, when the overall norm of profit was either stable or increased: the period of the initial introduction of machines during the second half of the 18th century--the period of "storms and pressure" when, according to Marx, the "exceptional profits" from mechanized production became a "source of accelerated accumulation" (vol 23, p 461); the period between 1797 and 1813, when profits increased as a result of a sharp extension of the working day, drop in the price of factory-made goods and lowering of real wages below their ordinary level; finally, the period between 1835 and 1865, when technical progress was once again accelerated, labor intensification became the main source of labor exploitation and the extensive popularization of shareholding for the first time began to hinder the equalization of overall profits (see ibid., p 461; vol 26, part II, pp 510-511; vol 21, part I, p 254).

Marx related the limitations of the period of growth of overall profit norms to the transitional influence of conflicting factors as a result of which, in the final account, the law of the growth of the organic structure of capital makes its way. This is also assisted by an overall worsening of the conditions for realizing the added value, which becomes inevitable after the wave of large-scale capital investments related to the establishment of the new sectors and the new production technology, wears out.

Long-term fluctuations in the profit norm are reflected on the general pace of expanded reproduction and capital accumulations. As the profit norm increases the growth rates of output accelerate and the lengthy decline of the profit norm contributes to dampening the rate of accumulations and economic growth. However, this takes place up to a certain point. Any excessive increase of profitability weakens in the capitalist the motivation to make use of technical inventions. Conversely, a drop in the profit norm below a certain minimum forces the capitalists to find a solution expressed in the installation of new equipment.

The decline of the overall profit norm leads to a moral obsolescence of the old technical production base and opens an opportunity for essential innovations. Here again, however, the capitalists act cautiously: the new technical revolution begins with the installation of equipment which allows a lowering of individual production costs, at the expense of labor above all. It is only afterwards, when the overall marketing conditions improve, that new commodities are used, which leads to the appearance of new sectors and the "quantitative expansion of factories."

During the first stage of the technical revolution, when the individual capitalists are still making use of the inventions which have not as yet become universally widespread, the overall profit norm rises. As Marx points out, this is the result of the fact that the "temporary yet steadily recurring increases in the added value above its overall level, appearing in one production sector or another" are among the reasons which hinder the decline

of the profit norm subject to equalization (see vol 25, part I, p 256). Subsequently, after the innovations have become universally accessible, the supplementary added value disappears and profits from the secondary modification and partial updating of the new equipment are substantially lower than when initially applied. Consequently, at a certain stage of the technical revolution a decline in the overall profit norm must resume.

Lenin expanded Marx's analysis by pointing out the contradictory interaction between the trend toward technical stagnation and accelerated development under the conditions of monopoly capitalism. He also proved that any new increase in the rate of growth of production forces accelerates the growth of production concentration and contributes to changes in capitalist production relations within the framework of the capitalist production method. In other words, the effect of the main contradiction within capitalism--the contradiction between labor and capital--which gradually creates prerequisites for a revolutionary transition to a higher social system is manifested in the lengthy fluctuations of technical progress.

Capitalist reality of recent decades brilliantly confirms the accuracy of the theory of Marx and Lenin. The period of the "Great Depression" of the 1930s did not mean a total stagnation of production technology and equipment in the least. It was precisely then that the United States developed the conveyor belt and mass production methods. Initially such technical novelties merely contributed to the growth of mass unemployment and to the worsening of the crisis. However, as state-monopoly regulation and the social gains of the working people contributed to improving the conditions for marketing the public product, individual technical novelties blended with the new technical revolution. The extensive use of fuels, synthetic and man-made materials, mass automation, the spreading of television, the revolution in air transportation and maritime shipping, the use of computers and many others determined the increased production growth rates during the 1940s-1960s. The sectorial structure of the economy and the nature of intersectorial relations changed radically.

The bourgeois economists and their yes men interpreted the surface of the phenomena as a "miracle" and endless "prosperity." However, profound changes in the structure of capital were taking place within the production process. Thus, for 3 decades, from 1935 to 1965, social labor productivity in the United States increased at a pace faster than in the previous 100 years. Initially--until 1946--this was not paralleled by a corresponding growth of the capital-labor ratio. In other words, as a result of the greater utilization of production capacities and the use of relatively inexpensive manpower, the ratio between the permanent and the variable capital temporarily changed in favor of the latter. This drastically lowered the capital-intensiveness of the social product and substantially increased the overall profit norm. Profitability increased not only compared to the 1920s-1930s, when production growth rates were lower, but also compared to the productive period at the turn of the 20th century.

Starting with 1946 the fast growth of the capital-labor ratio was resumed and once again it began to outstrip the growth of labor productivity. This corresponded to the period when along with qualitative technical changes the

quantitative expansion of the application of already tried equipment began to play an increasing role. Under these circumstances the long trend toward the growth of the organic structure of capital, increased production capital-intensiveness and slow yet proper lowering of the overall profit norm resumed. It was precisely then that the foundations of the current structural crisis in capitalist reproduction were laid.

A change in the dynamics of labor productivity began in 1965. Its growth sharply declined and fell below long-term average indicators. This took place despite the continuing accelerated increase in the capital-labor ratio. In other words, a stage of drastic reduction in production efficiency appeared. While the growth of the organic structure of capital continued, the removal of workers from the production process was accelerated and a lengthy decline in the real income of the working people began. Despite the higher added value norm, the profit norm dropped below its long-term average level. All this predetermined a drop in the overall rate of today's economic development.

Monopoly capital is seeking a solution to its long-term difficulties above all by reducing production costs. During the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s monopoly activities concentrated mainly on the use of labor-saving equipment. It was precisely then that industrial robots became widespread, their purpose being to reduce the need for manpower even further and to raise automation to a qualitatively new level. The automobile industry pioneered the use of robots (as it had pioneered the conveyor belts half a century ago). However, as was the case in the 1930s, labor-saving equipment, which contributes to the growth of mass unemployment, does not in itself create a change in the lengthy dynamics of social reproduction.

Another feature of the current long-term slowdown of technical progress is that despite overall significant and even rapidly growing allocations for scientific research and experimental design the leading capitalist countries are experiencing an obvious shortage of funds for the development and use of new commodities for mass consumption and general civilian use. We know that the previous technical revolutions gained their full power only when the change was extended to final consumption and general production conditions. Thus, during the technical revolution of the 1950s-1960s the new consumer goods for short- and long-term use, the conversion of air transport into a widespread mode of travel, the building of ocean sailing ships of an essentially new type and unparalleled tonnage, mass use of telephones, and so on, played the role of "locomotive engines" of the upswing. Under contemporary conditions, despite the abundance of all possible refined but still expensive and mostly inaccessible innovations, such as the use of computers in daily life (home computers, new means of providing information) and progress in design automation, no clear outlines of the technical revolution may be seen in terms of end products.

Meanwhile, however, plans for the creation of new and even more destructive types of military hardware dangerous to mankind are becoming quite clear, although projected for decades into the future. Not unsuccessfully, the multinational military-industrial complex is seeing to it that one generation

of military technology follows the other, without an interruption which could cause a temporary decline in the dynamics of war production. Frequently missiles, bombers and other types of military hardware are deployed which, according to experts, become obsolete even before their deployment has been completed. The continuing updating of existing weaponry and the tireless search for new areas in the arms race remove tremendous resources, including the the not unlimited creative potential of scientists and designers.

This, along with the labor-saving line followed by the monopolies, is the secret of the paradoxical situation in which, as admitted by a number of observers, technical progress finds itself in the leading capitalist countries currently. State-monopoly capitalism has not only proved to be unable to cope with the social consequences of the technical revolution but has also distorted the main direction of the progress of production forces.

A great deal is being said of the revolution in informatics: the creation of a compact chip which can hold millions of bits of information, an artificial mind, computers which can read a text and inform the person of its content and amazing discoveries made in biotechnology and gene engineering. Unquestionably, all of this will help to develop new types of civilian goods in the future, will lead to the discovery of new types of raw materials and energy and will make accessible for mass consumption that which today is available to a few individuals only. But will capitalism be able to provide a scope for such social needs in the interest of mankind? This is very doubtful.

Meanwhile, the working people face more vital problems, such as adequate job availability, proper earnings and decent living and working conditions. In order to accomplish this the current structural crisis in the capitalist economy must be surmounted. It is no accident that today the structural crisis has become the target of a sharp ideological and political struggle. The programmatic document which was adopted in November 1983 at the 23rd U.S. Communist Party Congress, emphasizes that the country is in the throes of a "triple crisis:" cyclical, structural and general capitalist. The thesis of the structural crisis experienced by the national economy is characteristic also of political documents issued by the French, Greek and many other fraternal communist parties. Here again matters are not limited to the ideologically pointed exposure of inherent vices of capitalism and the desire theoretically to interpret the processes occurring within it. It is a question of seeking real ways of surmounting the crisis in the interests of the toiling masses. No single political party today can avoid answering the question of what to do in the face of economic contradictions and how to take the path of harmonious rather than spasmodic development. The answer to what is to be done indicates the class interests served by that party.

As a rule, the conservatives, be they the supporters of Reagan in the United States, of Thatcher in Britain, of the AFR [Administrative-Financial Reform] in Japan, the ruling coalition in the FRG, and so on, try to ignore or deny the very fact that a long-term crisis exists. Their course in economic policy is an expression of their desire to sit out the lengthy crisis, allowing the mechanism of mass unemployment and pressure on the working people to clear

the grounds for a new upsurge. The reactionary forces are trying to prevent the aggravation of class contradictions and a social explosion by intensifying the militarization of the economy, encouraging international tension and inflating chauvinist propaganda. This dangerous policy is fraught with the development of fascism and a sliding toward nuclear catastrophe. It is supported by the military-industrial complex and the most reactionary segment of the multinational financial oligarchy.

The existence of a crisis is acknowledged by liberal and reformist circles. Some even recognize the fact of its lengthy structural nature. Their most popular prescription for the struggle against the crisis is a somewhat updated return to Keynesian methods for regulating social demand with mandatory international coordination of economic policy. In various modifications this variant is suggested both by the liberal wing of the multinational bourgeoisie (such as the Trilateral Commission) and the Socialist International (as seen in its economic program which was adopted at its last congress in Portugal in 1983). In practice, however, these prescriptions are hardly followed. In France the economic program of the leftist government is being sabotaged by right-wing forces. On the international level coordination is being thwarted, for it is rejected by the conservatives who are in power in the leading capitalist countries.

Today the bourgeois economists are also talking a great deal about the need for a "structural" policy. As van Lennep, the secretary general of the OECD acknowledged, "we are facing not simply cyclical problems but a long-term structural crisis...." The Italian journal SPETTATORE INTERNAZIONALE even described the present economic crisis as a "general crisis of disproportion." In practice, however, the structural policy, recommended and in some cases implemented by the ruling circles, is reduced to efforts to enhance the competitiveness of a given country on the world market by subsidizing selected sectors and enterprises, eliminating "depression-causing" sectors and shifting them to the developing countries, and increasing the pressure applied on the living standards of the toiling masses. As a result of such policies, dozens of metallurgical plants are closing down in the European economic community "on a planned basis." In Japan, according to the FINANCIAL TIMES, a "structural paradox is noted: A part of industry is dying while in other sectors something remindful of a second industrial revolution is taking place." In other words, the structural policy of the capitalist governments is trying to correct the long-term problems of the monopoly bourgeoisie at the expense of the rights and living standards of the working people.

From the viewpoint of the interests of the people's masses, the most effective and efficient is the program for fighting the crisis, supported by the progressive circles. Its purpose is to stimulate scientific and technical progress, but only that which leads to the development of the essentially new trends which can ensure the stable growth of the economy and contribute to the opening of new jobs along with increased production efficiency. This presumes not only a rejection of the capitalist emphasis on labor-saving equipment, labor intensification and maximalization of profits but also ending the arms race and rechanneling social resources into basic and applied research needed for civilian production and for resolving major problems in

the fields of energetics, environmental protection and raising the living standards of the broad population masses. To the progressive circles the elimination of the current crisis is inconceivable without profound socio-economic reforms and changes which would limit the role which the military-industrial complex and the multinational monopolies play in the economy and would broaden the democratic principles of economic management.

The comprehensive characterization of capitalist contradictions at the present stage is exceptionally topical in the theoretical works of our party. This is also necessary in order to achieve a more profound understanding of the economic foundations of the domestic and foreign policies of the capitalist states and the study of the prospects of the competition and struggle between the two social systems. It is precisely important today to consider the entire set of crisis-related processes in the contemporary capitalist economy, i.e., not only the contradictions of cyclical reproduction but, something equally important, the structural crisis and its various manifestations, including uneven technical progress under capitalism. The theoretical and political conclusions based on such a study must be properly reflected in the new draft of the party program which is being formulated in accordance with the resolution of the 26th CPSU Congress.

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## MARX'S COMRADE-IN-ARMS

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[Review by V. Sedykh of the book "Russkaya Soratnitsa Marksa" [Marx's Russian Comrade-in-Arms] by N. Yefremov and N. Ivanov. Moscovskiy Rabochiy, Moscow, 1982, 238 pp]

[Text] "Dear Citizen! With this letter I highly recommend to you our best friend Mrs. Eliza Tomanovskaya, who is sincerely and greatly loyal to the cause of the revolution in Russia...." This was what the members of the committee of the Russian Section of the International wrote to Marx when they sent to London the 20-year old Yelizaveta Tomanovskaya. This message opens the book on Tomanovskaya. The biography of this daughter of Russia is interesting for it reflects the path covered by many of the best representatives of the Russian liberation movement, a path from revolutionary democratic convictions to Marxism. "As the only correct revolutionary theory," V. I. Lenin wrote, "Russia truly experienced Marxism over a 50-year period of unheard-of pains and sacrifices, unparalleled revolutionary revolutionary heroism, incredible energy and dedicated searches..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Work], vol 41, p 8).

During the 1860s-1870s Yelizaveta Tomanovskaya (Dmitriyeva) was hardly an ordinary participant in the ideological search and efforts to find means for the socialist reorganization of Russian reality in the absence of a proletariat established as a class and the deep socioeconomic and political backwardness of the country. The authors describe the complex domestic situation in Russia at that time. With the abolition of serfdom the revolutionary wave abated, but the spark of the liberation movement was not extinguished and the striving toward social ideals did not vanish.

More than a century separates us from the life of the heroine of the book. Today through the lens of very hard work of several generations of historians and literary workers we can clearly see the main landmarks in her biography and gain fuller and clearer ideas about this great daughter of Russia and active participant in the revolutionary movement. Yelizaveta Tomanovskaya was virtually unknown to her contemporaries. During the 1930s I. S. Knizhnik-Vetrov, a journalist and a historian, was the first to make a profound and thorough study of files, newspapers and references related to this outstanding compatriot of ours. A novel on Tomanovskaya came out in the 1950s. Now we have the book by N. Yefremova and N. Ivanov, which is the result of new research, thoughts, comparisons and summations of both known and newly discovered facts related to this amazing biography.

Ye. Tomanovskaya (nee Kusheleva) began her political training at age 16 in Petersburg's radical youth circles where the works of N. A. Dobrolyubov, A. I. Herten and N. G. Chernyshevskiy were studied thoroughly. Tomanovskaya's contemporaries recognized Chernyshevskiy's great contribution to the young forces in Russia. He called for active participation in the social struggle and for revolutionary action. To the young democrats the novel "What Is To Be Done?" became a manifesto for a new attitude toward the working people and for a new morality. To Yelizaveta Tomanovskaya it was like a tuning fork for determining the depth of revolutionary convictions and the ability to serve the interests of the people. What is to be done when the working people are as yet unaware of their class interests and have not organized and united for struggle? This was what Yelizaveta Tomanovskaya asked her comrades and herself. In 1866 Dmitriy Karakozov had fired at the tsar hoping to put an end to tyranny in one stroke. The attempt on the tsar's life failed. But even if it had succeeded would this have brought about the long-awaited republic and raised the masses to its defense? Even thicker reactionary clouds gathered over Russia after the attempt. What were the young defenders of the people to do? In a peasant country such as Russia, many democrats naturally turned to the peasant masses. They saw the path to socialism as precisely passing through the development of the peasant communes. Events, however, took a different turn.

Free revolutionary speech addressed to the working people of Russia developed in voluntary exile and hard emigre life. Herten's KOLOKOL was followed by NARODNOYE DELO in standing guard over the liberation movement. Risking their lives, daring harbingers of the storm carried the journal from Geneva to the center of autocratic Russia and the provincial cities. The young Liza Tomanovskaya aspired with all her heart to join the ranks of these dedicated fighters for freedom. However, it was by far no simple matter for a woman, and even less so for the offspring of the nobility, to sacrifice herself on the altar of revolutionary service to the fatherland. A desperate step -- a fictitious marriage -- allowed Liza to use her share of an inheritance for revolutionary propaganda. In Geneva Yelizaveta Tomanovskaya found herself in the thick of the struggle waged by the proletariat. She saw the firmness with which the workers used strikes and the great effectiveness of this form of struggle for the satisfaction of their legitimate claims. In the crucible of practical work the young Russian revolutionary democrats developed an accurate understanding of the ways leading to the liberation of the toiling masses in Russia. As to communal peasant land ownership as a foundation for socialism, the impossibility of realizing such hopes became increasingly obvious. "...Its breakdown and conversion into petty property was more than likely," was Tomanovskaya's conclusion.

NARODNOYE DELO supported Marx, Engels and the ideas of scientific communism in many areas. The journal discussed most important problems, such as the origin of private property, the class struggle, the role of the people's masses and individuals in history and others.

The sections in the book which narrate the history of the liberation struggle in Russia make the readers consider today's problems of the international communist movement. The chapters "In the Russian Section of the International" and "Together with Marx" describe the irreconcilable battles wages by the members of the Russian section against those who were then trying to revise

Marxism. The young heroine, who was better armed than many others with a knowledge of scientific socialism, firmly rebuffed, with the entire enthusiasm of her youth, the "leftist" currents, such as pseudorevolutionary "outbreaks" and the sectarian alienation of clandestine youth groups which engaged in plots and sterile conspiracies within narrow revolutionary circles. Pleased with the successes of his young fellow workers, Engels noted their "endurance, firmness of character and a truly amazing grasp of theory" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 33, p 411). As the book proves, this description fully applied to Yelizaveta Tomanovskaya.

With the help of the editors of NARODNOYE DELO the revolutionary exiles organized the Russian section of the International, the ideas of which they dreamed of spreading in Russia. The Russian revolutionaries asked Marx to represent them in the General Council of the International, which he willingly agreed to do. In 1870, as a result of the worsened international situation and the difficulties of revolutionary work in Russia, the members of the Russian section deemed it necessary to consult personally with Marx. They delegated Tomanovskaya to do so. Marx warmly welcomed the young envoy, introduced her to Engels and to his family and was touchingly concerned with her health after Liza caught a fever because of the unaccustomed climate. The 3 months she spent in London were to her a true university of scientific socialism. Her contacts with Marx and attendance of worker meetings and sessions of the International General Council strengthened her belief in the tremendous value of Marx's doctrine to the revolutionary struggle in Russia and elsewhere.

Today these parts of the book are interpreted in the context of the sharp ideological struggle waged on the subject of Marx's legacy in the year in which we honor his memory. The bourgeois ideologues are distorting his ideas. Using misrepresentations they are trying to prove the "obsolescence" and the "groundlessness" of his doctrines. These attempts are not new and would have been ignored here had Ye. Tomanovskaya biography not been used for such purposes by some foreign publicists. An example of this is the book "Red Elisabeth" published by Stock Publishers in France.

This book about Ye. Tomanovskaya, written in the style of a light novel, has not been ignored by the French readers. However, despite the interesting narrative, the author greatly errs against the truth. He presents in a distorted light the relations between Marx and the Russian revolutionaries and their role in the international struggle waged by the proletariat.

On 18 March 1871 the French proletariat made the first attempt in history to create a state of a new type. The Paris Commune confirmed the leading role of the working class in overthrowing the exploiters and establishing truly just social relations. Yelizaveta Tomanovskaya actively joined in the struggle of the Paris workers, with other foreigners. According to the bourgeois biography, it was in Red Paris that the Russian revolutionary had decided to check whether the ideas of "Russian socialism" were applicable under French conditions and naively undertook to reorganize social relations by creating worker cooperatives. But let us turn to the recollections of eyewitnesses and participants in the Commune as cited in the book. Thousands of communards knew Tomanovskaya under the pseudonym Dmitriyeva and had heard her fiery speeches at meetings. "...The center of Paris. A small premise on Boulevard

des Italiens filled with women, most of them workers wearing loose cut blouses and white shoes. In the back, the presidium of the solemn meeting behind a table. As befits the representative of the government, the chair person is wearing a red sash across her shoulder. Those present in the hall are listening to the young woman with interest. The speaker is a tall beautiful brunette. During her heated speech, whenever the flaps of her coat happen to part, the revolver stuck in her belt is visible to all. The pleasant timber of her soft but forceful voice sounds appealing. She persuasively speaks of what thousands of Parisians think about and live for: To defend the cause of the Commune at all cost, to live free or die fighting" (pp 5-6). This is an eyewitness description of one of Ye. Tomanovskaya's speeches.

The book combines publicistic tenseness, a graphic perception of events and emotionality with a thorough interpretation of the meaning of the struggle waged by the Paris Commune. In revolutionary Paris Tomanovskaya became one of the leaders of the proletarian women. She rallied thousands of Parisian women to the defense of Paris and for help to the wounded. For the first time, under the Commune, the women's movement was headed not by bourgeois feminists but by true daughters of the worker districts. Among them Tomanovskaya became a talented propagandist of socialist ideals. She called upon the Commune to put productive capital in the hands of the workers, to create women's trade unions and to grant women equal rights. The Commune undertook to implement these demands. Hundreds of studies have been made of the Commune and it would be pointless to describe one more time what characterized it as a dictatorship of the proletariat. Let us emphasize that the authors have been able to describe Tomanovskaya as a politically knowledgeable fighter for the Commune. Quite independently she was able to perceive the accomplishments and the errors and weaknesses of the Commune. Marx, who relied on Tomanovskaya's good political training, assigned to her to inform the General Council of the International about the activities of the Commune, a task which she fulfilled successfully. Later, in a letter to M. M. Kovalevskiy, Marx wrote that "Tomanovskaya rendered great services to the party."

The last days of the Commune were quite dramatic. Anticipating the tragic outcome, Tomanovskaya wrote to London that "I have prepared myself for the fact that I shall be dying on the barricades soon." Even the bourgeois press was unable to conceal the horrors of the reprisals against the communards and the shooting of women and children. The wounded Tomanovskaya was able to leave besieged Paris almost miraculously.

Today no memorial plaques in Paris mark the memorable sites of the Commune. The French working people are well familiar with them, however. The town hall in which the Commune was solemnly proclaimed is clearly visible from the Eifel Tower, as are the road to Versailles, where the bourgeois government of "the dwarf Thiers" hid after escaping from revolutionary Paris, and so is the Jardin des Tuilleries, where Tomanovskaya was to hold a meeting of women delegates gathered to form women's trade unions at the end of May 1871. On that same day, however, the reaction invaded Paris and Tomanovskaya, together with Louise Michel, the legendary heroine of the Commune, and other workers, resisted the pressure of superior Versailles military forces. Also visible from the Eifel Tower is Montmartre, the cradle of the revolution, and the Pere Lachaise cemetery where the last defenders of the Commune rest in a common

grave. The wall of the communards has become a sacred site of pilgrimage for French and other revolutionaries and for all those who cherish the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

It is in vain that bourgeois France is deleting the memory of the Commune from textbooks or trying to insinuate that the 1871 proletarian revolution did not bring glory but "misfortune" and even "shame" to the country. The true image of the Commune lives in the minds and hearts of the French and international proletariat.

There is in France a society of "Friends of the Paris Commune," whose chairman for many years was Jacques Duclos, a noted leader of the French and international communist movements and who, incidentally, makes frequent mention of Yelizaveta Tomanovskaya in his works. The red flags of the national guard battalions and other relics of the Paris Commune may be seen in the Living History Museum which was organized by the communist municipality of Montreuil, a worker Paris suburb.

In our country, the homeland of the Great October, where the bright dreams of the communards became reality under the leadership of the Leninist communist party, constant and most close attention is paid to the history of the Paris Commune. Thousands of visitors become familiar with its heroes, particularly in the K. Marx and F. Engels Museum in Moscow. A museum was also organized in Volok village, Kalinin Oblast, the native place of Ye. Tomanovskaya, the Russian communarde.

The authors of "Russkaya Soratnitsa Marksa" as well have made their contribution to this noble cause. The final pages in the book describe the efforts to find other museum exhibits and the continuing research aimed at increasing the accuracy of Tomanovskaya's biography. The authors could be blamed for some gaps and for leaving some questions unanswered in their book. However, this may be explained by the documentary approach taken to the material, for previously unknown aspects of Tomanovskaya's biography have been deliberately emphasized. We see in this approach the desire to involve the readers in thoughts, research and the search for new facts.

Captivating discoveries await future researchers and authors who would like to recreate in their works the characters of Yelizaveta Tomanovskaya's outstanding compatriots, who also fought at the barricades of the Paris Commune and were in touch with Marx and Engels, people such as M. P. Sazhin, A. V. Korvin-Krukovskaya, sister of the famous S. V. Kovalevskaya, P. L. Lavrov and others.

The topic "Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Revolutionary Russia" is attractive and thankful. It does not lose its relevance with the passing of time. This is eloquently proven by the interesting book "Russkaya Soratnitsa Marksa."

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